THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/memoirsofgeorgew00whit

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE WHITEHEAD;

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL

IN THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:

BEING THE SUBSTANCE

Of the

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

And published after his decease, in the year 1725,

UNDER THE TITLE OF

"His Christian Progress;"

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A SELECTION FROM HIS OTHER WORKS.

ALSO

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

By SAMUEL TUKE.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

"If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

Philadelphia:
NATHAN KITE—64 WALNUT STREET.

1832.

BX
7795
W58A2
1832

PREFACE.

The historical account which George Whitehead has left of his own "Christian Progress," is so much interwoven with the early history of the Religious Society of Friends, that, independently of the instructive exhibition which it affords of individual character, it has a strong claim on the attention of those who now profess the principles which he advocated so boldly, and for which he suffered with so much constancy.

These Memoirs, indeed, contain more information relative to the early proceedings of the Society, than those of any other individual, except it be the life of George Fox. Convinced when under age of the doctrines preached by that reformer, he became very soon an active and zealous minister of the truths which he had embraced, and continued for nearly seventy years to labour by word and example in the support of them.

It has been the lot of few persons to occupy an active sphere for so long a period of time as was the case with George Whitehead. He was born in the reign of Charles I. Under the Commonwealth, and in the reign of Charles II., he suffered many severe persecutions. He visited several times the court of Charles, to plead with him on behalf of the cause of religious liberty. These efforts were continued during the short reign of James II.; and during the reign of William and Mary, when a brighter day dawned on the civil and religious

550380

liberties of England, he exerted himself, by personal and written representations, to obtain for the Society the free exercise of religious worship, the liberation of the members who, chiefly for ecclesiastical demands, were still suffering cruel imprisonments, and the admission of the affirmation of Friends instead of an oath in all civil cases.

He had several interviews with George I., in which he earnestly pleaded the great cause of religious liberty; and having been introduced to the young prince, afterwards George II., he endeavoured to impress his mind with the same important subject. He was thus during the five reigns succeeding the Commonwealth, one of the most strenuous advocates of our principles, and of religious liberty in general; and very frequently the organ of the Society of Friends, at the court of the English monarchs.

To us who are enjoying those civil and religious privileges, which he was in so considerable a degree instrumental in obtaining, the account which he has given of his proceedings, though it may at times be charged with prolixity, can hardly fail to be interesting.

In this republication of George Whitehead's valuable work, it has however been deemed best to present many of the details in a curtailed or condensed form. The curtailments are chiefly in the accounts of polemical discussions and law proceedings; but several other parts which appeared to be redundant, have been omitted in this edition; and where more than one account is given of the same transaction, that which appeared the most complete has been selected, or the substance of the whole has been re-written without adhering to the author's words.

The editor has also ventured in several cases to add a few historical particulars, to make the work more completely illustrative of the character of the Society, and the state of the public mind at the period to which it refers. The whole, notwithstanding the curtailments, will give the reader a petty clear insight into the rise, progress, and principles of the Society of Friends; nor will its details, the editor trusts, be found uninteresting to the inquirer into the history of the civil and religious liberties of England, as connected with that most important and interesting period of our annals which these Memoirs embrace.

The present work was originally designed to have been comprised in one volume, and it would no doubt have been more agreeable to some readers in a more condensed form; but as an historical record, and with a view of preserving the clear view which the original memoirs frequently give of the varied engagements of our early Friends, much greater curtailment than has been made, did not, to the editor, seem desirable. He is nevertheless far from imagining, that he has always drawn the line exactly where it ought to have been, and he cannot be much disappointed if he should have failed to please his friends, since, on many occasions, he has failed to please himself.* Leaving however his own imperfections, he can safely recommend the perusal of the work, to all those of the Society of Friends, who feel an interest in the history of the Church to which they belong.

* The editor wishes to acknowledge the advantage he has frequently derived from the use of a copy of the "Christian Progress," marked, with a view to a somewhat similar republication, by his friend Edward Pease of Darlington.

George Whitehead was a voluminous writer. Besides his "Christian Progress" the editor has before him no less than ninety tracts, some of them of a very considerable length. They are chiefly controversial. The earlier ones appear to have been written in much haste; and much cannot be said in favour either of their general talent or temper. In both these respects, the later productions are decidedly superior; and several of them contain clear and able refutations of the charges with which Friends were then assailed. As he grew in years, he evidently grew both in graces and in gifts. There are among his tracts several "Epistles to Friends," which mark deep Christian experience and a truly pastoral care over the Society. One of these, printed in the year 1689, is inserted at the close of the work, and will be found well worthy of perusal in the present day. The Appendix also contains the last controversial work in which the author appears to have been engaged, written in the year 1712; and an important document issued by the Society in the year 1693, illustrative of its Christian principles at that early period. There is considerable reason to believe, that this declaration of Christian faith was compiled by George Whitehead; and its insertion accords with the editor's design in the publication of this work, which is, THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME THE FIRST.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 13

SECTION I.

George Whitehead's reasons for preparing his own memoirs.—His account of his early life—and of his convincement of the doctrines of Friends. 31

SECTION II.

General prejudice against the principles of the new Society.—His parents' views.—His own progress and experience, and a statement of his principles and sentiments in regard to Christ as our Sacrifice—as the Light of the world.—Necessity of repentance.—Value of the Holy Scriptures.—The New Covenant.—Gospel ministry. 39

SECTION III.

His travels in Yorkshire.—Visits Lincoln, Cambridge, Norwich, and Wymondham.—Ranters.—Visits other places in Norfolk and Suffolk.—Returns to Norwich.—Imprisoned there.—Proclamation asserting liberty of conscience.—Further visits in Norfolk and Suffolk. 49

SECTION IV.

George Whitehead and others imprisoned in Edmunds'-Bury gaol—released by order from the Protector.—Visits London, and returns into Essex and Suffolk.—Cruelly whipped at Nayland, when not twenty-one years of age.—Travels afterwards in Essex, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire till the middle of the year 1657. 83

SECTION V.

G. Whitehead travels in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and Stafford—and in the winter of 1657, in Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland.—Returns by York into the eastern counties.—An illness at Diss, 1658.—Imprisoned at Ipswich.—Released on the death of Oliver Cromwell.—Meetings at and about Ipswich. 101

SECTION VI.

Has many disputations in the years 1658 and 1659.—Account of one at Emneth on seventeen points—At Cambridge with the keep-

er of the university library—at Lynn, with the Mooreans or Universalists, on Christian perfection, Christ's body, &c.—A second with the same people, succeeded by a written controversy. 113

SECTION VII.

Disputations with a Presbyterian minister at Lynn, on the Scriptures, the resurrection of the body, the Trinity, &c.—with an Independent minister at Pulham, on the Light of Christ.—Meets a minister in the steeple-house at Haddenham.—A meeting at Peterborough.—Goes to Oakham—Coggeshall—Bristol. 133

SECTION VIII.

Restoration of the monarchy.—King Charles's declaration for liberty of conscience.—Remarks on his sincerity.—Fifth-monarchy men.—Proclamation against conventicles, and consequent renewal of persecution.—George Whitehead's imprisonment with others in Norwich castle; released by the king's proclamation.—Henry Kettle formerly mayor of Thetford.—Act of parliament respecting Friends' refusal to take any oath.—The endeavours of Friends to prevent the bill passing the House of Commons. 144

SECTION IX.

George Whitehead's own account of persecutions in London, in 1662 to 1664.—An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles.—Persecution in London, 1665.—He visits the northern counties, &c. and returns to London.—Remains there during the plague. 170

SECTION X.

The Oxford five mile act.—George Whitehead addresses two epistles to Friends during their trials.—The great fire in London, 1666.—Friends continue their meetings.—George Whitehead continues principally in London—and marries in the year 1669.—In 1686 he lost his wife—and in 1688 married again.—The narrative reverts to the fire in London.—A further act to prevent seditious conventicles in 1670. 197

SECTION XI.

Occurrences 1666 to 1670.—George Whitehead, in 1670, taken from a meeting in Grace-church street.—The mayor orders a priest to read prayers and preach in Friends' meeting-house.—Other meetings disturbed.—An order of court to prevent Friends meeting at Horslydown.—Proceedings thereupon. 210

SECTION XII.

Persecution continued with little abatement till the king's declaration in 1673.—George Whitehead successfully applies to the king for the liberation of about four hundred of his Friends.—He travels with the king's Letters Patent under the Great Seal, to obtain the discharge of his Friends in Essex, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgshire, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire. He consults Judge Hale on the release of Friends in the distant counties—Procures their release by means of the sheriffs' coming to London. 230

INTRODUCTION.

It may not perhaps be wholly useless, especially to my young readers, to make a few introductory observations, which have been suggested in the compilation of the present work, on the *character and conduct of the early Friends*, and on *the important subject of liberty of conscience*, the history of which, in this country, will be found considerably illustrated in this Memoir.

The religious Society of Friends was originally an association of persons earnestly seeking to obtain that true knowledge of God and of Christ, which is life eternal. Many of them were men esteemed in the several religious professions to which they belonged, for their practical experience and piety; yet notwithstanding what they already knew, their consciences were not satisfied, and they were led to believe, that a further acquaintance with Divine teachings than they yet possessed was to be obtained. They felt that they needed to know more of the work of regeneration, and of the power of Christ to renew them into his own Image, than they experienced under the various teachings and ordinances on which they had been led, in part at least, to depend.

They were men whose minds were richly imbued with Scripture truth, and not a few of them were very conversant with the theological controversies of their own and former days. Some of them, prior to the preaching of George Fox, had separated themselves from other communities and met together in a very simple way, earnestly looking and praying for the

fuller knowledge of redemption from sin, and of that peace of mind which passeth all understanding. Whilst thus seeking for Truth, already exposed to the reproaches of their self-satisfied friends, they were led to believe that whilst they had dwelt much on the atonement of Christ, they had not sufficiently dwelt on the operations of that Holy Spirit and Comforter, who was to consummate the Gospel, to guide into all truth, and *by whom*, the apostle says, *through Christ we have access to the Father*. Of this Divine Communion they believed they were made sensible partakers, and in it they found that consolation which they had long sought after and prayed for.

As it was by sin that man lost the Divine Image and excellence in which he was created, so they believed the restoration by Christ to be equal to the loss by Adam, and that he who *fully* embraced the Gospel would be so guided into all truth, that sin might be effectually resisted and Christ followed.

These views of the operations of the Holy Spirit and of the possibility of freedom from sin, I believe to have been the foundation of what is called Quakerism; and they led to or were immediately connected with, a clearer view of the nature and spirituality of the Gospel Dispensation—the extent of the apostacy from its simplicity and purity—and the inconsistency therewith of many practices which prevailed extensively in the reformed Churches. When George Fox travelled into various parts of England, calling men from all traditional knowledge, by which in the days of the apostacy Gospel truth had been overlaid, to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, and showed the conformity of his views with the Divine testimony of Scripture, he found many prepared to receive the Truth which he proclaimed, as the answer to their prayers and the direction of their search. Though the embracing of these truths was the occasion of obloquy and suffering, they were welcome to them as the dawning of the morning to the mariner, after a long and stormy night.

The office of the Holy Spirit or Divine Light as the Guide unto all Truth, became the great theme of their contemplation and their preaching, as that doctrine which being most fatal to satan's kingdom in men's hearts, he had been most busy in perverting; and which, as it was most opposed to man's unholy nature, so it was that which by nature he was most willing to have concealed from his view. They did not, as was imputed to them, set up this doctrine in opposition to that of the atonement and mediation of Christ; but they warned men against any dependence on Christ, without knowing Him to be formed in them and their hearts to be brought into subjection to his Spirit. They did not, as they were aspersed, set aside the Holy Scriptures, to make way for any fancies of their own; but they warned men against resting satisfied with a Scripture knowledge, without knowing the true faith in Christ through which alone they lead to salvation. They valued the Holy Scriptures as inspired records of the Divine will —they read and quoted them freely, and recommended to others the perusal of them; but they believed that as the brazen serpent which had been the instrument of the Divine mercy to the Israelites, afterwards became the object of their idolatry, so were there many people who were ready to worship the *book*, whilst they neglected or opposed the Spirit by which it was written.

They had a deep sense of man's corruption and of the Divine purity. They taught that every motion of good in the heart of man, from the first conviction of sin to the full assurance of faith, was through the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit. That in man, as man, there was no good thing; and that, as it was through the free Grace of God in Christ that any sinner was awakened to the error of his way, and not *essentially* through any outward means of instruction, however the Divine Influence might be usually connected with such means; so it was to that Divine Grace, as the means of still further enlightening the conscience

and of carrying on the work of sanctification, that men were to be mainly directed to seek.

This Divine Light in the conscience would, they believed, lead to the perception that many things were contrary to the Divine will, which were not *especially* pointed out in Holy Scripture; whilst the testimony of the Inspired Writings would *in all respects be confirmed*, and the reader enabled to understand them to spiritual edification. The Holy Spirit would open the mystery of Christ truly, glorifying Him and receiving of his and shewing it unto us. Thus they believed the Christian was enabled to become truly wise—to die unto sin and to be made alive unto righteousness.

To bring men to the knowledge of this great Teacher, was the labour of those faithful men who, like the subject of this memoir, were singularly called and endued with power to preach with boldness, and to rejoice in being counted worthy to suffer for the Name of Christ.

It appears that what these Christian worthies were engaged to do, was not to add another to the many names which divide Christendom;—it was not merely to testify against priestly usurpation, the practice of war, oaths, and the indulgence in some particular evidences of the worldly spirit;—these were the accompaniments of their great and paramount engagement; which was to declare God's controversy with sin, and the means by which it might be subdued; not omitting to proclaim the alone ground of a sinner's pardon, through the propitiatory sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

So impressed were they with the terrors of the Lord for evil, and the unfathomable depth of his mercies, that they spoke of them with an awful reverence, the feeling of which induced in some a trembling of the body, from which they derived, from a persecuting magistrate, the name of Quaker; and though it be one of scorn and reproach, he who knows and has felt any thing of its meaning will not be ashamed to own it. For however conformable any may be in what are

termed the "peculiarities" of our Society, if they have not been brought to see their lost estate by nature, and to *tremble* under the sense of the Divine displeasure as the prelude to the hope of God's mercy, they have yet to learn the very rudiments of their Quakerism.

The experience of the true Quaker, though it may begin and be carried on in judgment, will be accompanied by and will end in mercy. Nowhere do I find in Christian records more striking instances of hope in Christ—of joy in believing—and of the assurance of faith, than in the experience of those who were instrumental in the planting of our Church. They had a strong abiding sense of the almightiness of God. The creatures, however powerful they might seem, sunk into insignificance in their view, whenever they attempted to lift their puny arms in contravention of what they believed to be the Divine will.*

I would by no means represent them as free from imperfection, which I believe attaches to all the exhibitions of Christian excellence in mere human form. I cannot myself approve of every act which I read of in their history; I confess also that in the exaltations of the great doctrine of the Light of Christ in the heart, they do appear to me not always to have given quite the due proportion of importance to the outward revelation of Christ, in the Holy Scriptures; but whilst making this concession to their opponents, which truth constrains me to make, I can see they were sincere and devout seekers of Divine truth, and that they drank largely at the Fountain of Divine knowledge; and when I look at the important testimonies which they maintained—at their unwearied labours—their unfeigned love—their steadfast faith—their constancy and meekness in suffering, I cannot but venerate their charac-

*Dr. Owen in his work on spiritual mindedness has well observed: "To believe the almighty power of God with reference to ourselves and all our concerns, temporal and eternal, is one of the highest and most noble acts of faith, which includes all others in it."

ter for their works' sake; I believe that they were eminently raised up, to recall the Church of Christ from its wanderings, and to set before it the simplicity and purity of its primitive faith and worship:—that faith which worketh by love, to the purifying of the heart; and that worship which, through the Holy Spirit, is to be performed in the temple of the soul.

Had the opinions we have described been the mere result of a course of reasoning, even from the Holy Scripture; and had they not been accompanied by a lively faith, which brought them so into action as to oppose the interests and prejudices of many of their fellow professors, they might have been permitted to share the fate of the party to which they happened to belong: but when their views not only led them to refrain from, as superstitious, many things which were highly esteemed in the religious world; but also to go forth zealously to proclaim to others what they believed to be truth, and many were thereby convinced and led to desert their former professions; the various sects and parties of that day were stirred up as with one accord, against this people, and succeeded in persuading many even devout persons, that the Quakers were the enemies of religion and of Christ. No imputations were too foul to charge upon this people—no indignity too great to offer—no sufferings too severe to inflict. They became at once the laughing stock and the whipping stock of all parties.

Many however were led by this very treatment, to look more inquisitively into their doctrines and manners;—they remembered that the way of Truth had been heretofore every where spoken against, and when they found that these objects of general reproach were industrious in their callings and exemplary in all the duties of social life, and that nevertheless they were ready to forsake houses and lands, parents and children, rather than disobey what they believed to be the law of Christ—the inquirers were often led to conclude, that these much despised people, were indeed true followers

of Him who and whose disciples were not of the world, and therefore the world hated them.

And it is worthy of remark, how much this kind of conviction, not founded on a minute, inductive process, but resting chiefly on what may be termed internal evidence, has been the course through which the Head of the Church has, in all periods, thought fit to gather his people out of the world. In the opening of the Gospel day, though accompanied by extraordinary miracles, there was much of this process to be observed; and in the subsequent revivals of Divine truth, whether in Germany, Switzerland, or England, it will, I believe, be found, that a large majority of converts were led by a sense of Truth in the main—by finding a conformity of the doctrines preached, with the Witness for God in themselves, rather than by a course of minute investigation. Indeed, if the knowledge of the Gospel required this, it could no more be said to be preached to the poor, nor plain to the wayfaring man.

Many among the early converts to Quakerism, who had been wise and great in this world, were made to rejoice in the laying down of their outward wisdom, and in sitting down in deep humility to learn of Jesus by the teaching of the Holy Spirit in the heart, who as He is waited for, will so bring into remembrance what Christ has said, as to make his words Spirit and Life unto them. They could say with the apostle: "I glory in nothing save in the cross of Christ, whereby I am crucified unto the world and the world unto me."

It was by the zealous preaching of this foolishness—and by the illustration of it in lives of singular piety and self-denial, that our fathers were gathered to be a people; and it is only by a similar course, that we can become or be preserved such a people as they were.

The conduct of the Society of Friends, as detailed in the following pages, derives an increased interest

from its intimate connexion with the history of our present religious liberty.

Some persons doubt the propriety of reviving the records of ancient persecutions; I can truly say, they are not brought forward in the present work to excite unpleasant feeling towards any sect or party whose name may have been in those times unhappily connected with persecuting proceedings. But the fidelity of history, and the important lessons which are to be derived from experience, require that such events should not be concealed or even allowed to be forgotten. On no subject are the lessons of past experience of more importance, than in what regards *liberty of conscience*. We enjoy this privilege in an eminent degree in England; it behoves us that we watch over it with a vigilant care, and cherish the recollection of the means by which it has been obtained, as intimately connected with the knowledge of those by which this invaluable blessing is to be preserved and extended.

I cannot agree with those who think that religious privileges can never again be invaded, and that the diffusion of general knowledge in England is an ample security against the recurrence of persecution. The spirit of persecution is one of the features of man's depravity, intimately connected with his pride, his selfishness, and his lust of power; and unless these roots are extirpated from the human soil, I see no security for their not bearing similar fruit, though varied by the circumstances of climate and culture.

Superstition has generally been intimately connected with persecution, but they are by no means inseperable. Irreligion is no less opposed to the claims of *tender conscience*, than superstition. It unites at present with Christian charity, in the opposition to Christians persecuting one another for their various opinions; but this is quite a different thing from the recognition of those inalienable *rights of conscience*, for which our early Friends so earnestly contended and so patiently suffered. The mere worldly philosopher,

though looking with deserved contempt on the violent animosities of contending religionists, and thus acting as a salutary check upon their violence, has an equal contempt for what appear to him to be the needless scruples and the annoying zeal of the man who religiously exercises himself to keep a *conscience void of offence towards God and men;* and when the avoidance or performance of those things which the Christian engaged in this service finds to be required of him, is opposed to the views of the philosopher, no one is more ready to use his authority to enforce his will and pleasure. Amongst the bitterest persecutors and revilers of primitive Christianity, history records the names of some of the wisest and mildest of the Cæsars, and the most liberal and enlightened of Roman and Grecian philosophers. The history of the French revolution has shown that persecution may exist under a government which has renounced the signs and substance of all religion except the homage of an unknown Deity in the pretended temple of reason. Recent events have also shown, that in protestant states professing liberal opinions, direct persecution can rear its head; and in our own parliament, the claims of tender conscience have lately been treated with very little respect.

Thus the *idol of uniformity* has been set up, alike by the infidel illuminati of France, the pope of Rome, the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent protestants of England and Scotland, and lastly, but not less strikingly, by several of the once Calvinistic but now it is said Socinian churches of the Swiss cantons.

Persecution under all its *forms* is one in *root*. It is the mystery of iniquity setting itself in the place of God, and attempting to rule over the consciences of men. It has worked and will continue to work, wherever the humbling and restraining influences of Gospel truth are *practically* unknown. It is the opposition of satan's kingdom to the kingdom of Christ; the former of which stands in pride, tyranny, and violence, the latter in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

The difference between satan and Christ's kingdom, has been too much considered an affair of *words* rather than of *things*. How often, under the mask of religious zeal, has *evil* been as busily at work as in its most obvious manifestations. Satan has hardly more effectually established his cruel kingdom amongst men by the worship of Moloch in heathen countries, than in what is called *Christendom* by setting up the idol of uniformity.

Views similar to these appear to have been taken by our early Friends, and to have led them to raise, at a period when the various parties were each contending for power, the pure standard of universal liberty of conscience; and to press upon men to look more to the genuine fruits of the Spirit, as the tests of their Christianity, than to any form of words or any explanations of Divine truth which human wisdom had been able to propose; and it is no mean collateral evidence to the general correctness of their theological views, that they were led by them whilst seeking liberty for all, earnestly to contend and patiently to suffer for what they believed to be the great precepts of the Gospel of Christ—the simplicity of his worship and the purity of his faith.

It is worthy of notice, that in almost all cases, as churches have declined in purity, they have increased in zeal for circumstantials—for words and systems rather than for the immutable principles of Truth, evidenced by holiness of life and the humble forgiving spirit of the Saviour. Then, to borrow the words of Calvin: "So soon as any word is spoken of the abrogating of the ordinances of men, by and by great troubles are raised up, partly by seditious men, partly by slanderers, as though the whole obedience of men were at once taken away and overthrown." Nor is it less observable that "the most virulent enemies of vital godliness are often extremely tenacious of their own inventions in religion, by which they dress up a vain pageant to amuse their consciences and to impose on the ignorant." *Scott on Matt.* xv. 1.

Then you may see the Christian pharisee, negligent of the weightier matters of the law—mercy and truth —earnestly contending for the tithe of his anise and cummin, and uniting with the licentious sadducee in the opposition to the true servants of Christ, and in defence of their common kingdom, which is that of the god of this world. So it has ever been found in corrupt churches, that men may be formalists or licentious; whilst they, who in a tender conscience towards God, are led to refuse compliance with their institutions, or who are constrained by the love of Christ to proclaim aloud to sinners the mercy and the judgments of God by Christ, and to rend away their false covering and their false hopes, have ever been the objects of cruel persecutions or contumely. There is a striking passage in Lord Cobham's trial, in illustration of this view: "For the most flagrant trangressions of God's moral law," said he, "was I never once called in question by them. I have expressed some dislike to their arbitrary appointments and traditions, and I am treated with unparalleled severity. But let them remember the denunciations of Christ against the pharisees: all shall be fulfilled." Many illustrations of a similar kind will be found in the following memoirs.

Men professing to be the holy bishops and ministers of Christ's Church, whilst they tolerated amongst themselves covetousness, extortion, and profligacy, persecuted to death the conscientious and self-denying dissenter from their ordinances; and even they who had those vices written upon their front, could avow themselves as the champions of Christ's Church and the defenders of his faith. Such are the wolves in sheep's clothing, who, though their creed may be cut to the exactest orthodoxy, have ever sought the destruction of the lambs of Christ. There is still great reason to unite in that passage of the prayer attributed to Charles 1. during his afflictions: "Make them at length seriously to consider, that *nothing violent and injurious can be religious.*"

Whilst however we believe the root of persecution will be found in the corrupt affections of the human heart, and that our utmost vigilance is required to repress its growth; it must be admitted that its history affords many instances of a more anomalous character than those which we have just pourtrayed. The light of the reformation, glorious as it was, did but partially dispel the mists of the long night of apostacy which had preceded it. What judaism was to Peter, educational prejudices and opinions were to many good men in former days, when they were first awakened to see the corruption of the Romish church. Like him they were led to take far too exclusive views of the nature of Christ's Church, and hence to sanction practices which would be altogether incompatible with the same degree of piety under the clearer views of the present day.

It is a subject of more than mere curiosity to inquire, how those clearer views have been obtained; and it will particularly accord with the position of the present essay to inquire, whether our religious Society has had any and what share in the production of them.

It may I think be fairly said, that at the time of the rise of our Society, there was no class or body of men, who admitted that every man had an unalienable right to worship God in such manner as to his individual conscience appeared right; doctrines the early Friends boldly maintained. The spirit of popish exclusiveness hung about all churches. In spite of the noble declaration of Chillingworth, that the Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of protestants; each church party was ambitious of an impure alliance with the state, that they might enforce, as far as they were able, their own interpretation of Scripture doctrine and church government: and whilst the more active spirits in these political arrangements were rarely those who had much claim to Christian character, it can hardly be doubted that many, to whom we cannot deny in other respects this honour, concurred in the domineering in-

fluence of their own party, and would not grant to others that right of private judgment, the refusal of which to themselves had been the subject of their heavy complaint. Few things are more difficult to reconcile with the character of a disciple of Christ, than this apparent want of its distinguishing badge; and the long continuance of such discrepancies in what is termed the reformed Church, ought to make us increasingly sedulous to seek and maintain the Truth in its primitive purity and loveliness.

Among the causes which contributed to prepare the people of England for mutual toleration, the variety of its religious parties, and that fluctuation in their circumstances by which they were all by turns subjected to suffering and raised to power, within the few years from the death of Charles the First to the restoration of his son to the English throne, may fairly be enumerated. It afforded a practical lesson on the folly of intolerance, and the wisdom of mutual charity and forbearance. Men who were suffering under the ecclesiastical domination of others, could hardly avoid using arguments for their relief which applied to others as well as themselves; and those who had used such arguments could not altogether deny their force, when, themselves advanced to authority, they were urged by those whom they oppressed. It is only surprizing, that the obstinacy of men's pride and prejudices made them resist so long as they did these powerful lessons. They had however, doubtless a great though silent influence, and prepared the way for the writings of such men as John Locke, and Jeremy Taylor, and William Penn, who nobly advocated the cause of religious liberty, and no doubt produced a powerful impression on the public mind. But though the writings of several members of the Society of Friends, bear ample testimony to their views in regard to religious liberty; it was by their conduct—by arguments of a practical kind—that they mainly promoted this great cause. The conduct of the Society, as detailed in the following pages, appears to

me to be intimately connected with the history of our present degree of religious liberty. They held many things to be contrary to the direct injunctions of Christ or the spirit of the Gospel, which others held to be necessary or lawful. They refused actively to comply with any command which their consciences did not approve; and maintained, that the civil magistrate had no right to interfere in matters of religious observance, or to enforce any act which was contrary to a man's conviction of right, unless it were absolutely required by the welfare of the state.

How bold they were on every occasion in contending for truth and justice, and patient in suffering for their testimony to them, the following pages abundantly show; and it is remarkable, that under the persecutions which more or less attached to all the nonconformists of those days, the most *peaceable* class was decidedly the most *courageous*. Whilst practically maintaining the doctrine of nonresistance, and therefore appearing to support the principle of passive obedience, there was not any people who made such large and persisting demands for full liberty of conscience, or who did more to influence the government not merely to sanction one or two sects, but to extend the principle itself. It was evident that they could be subdued by nothing short of extirpation; for whilst no violence or cruelty could drive them to resistance, so neither could it deter them from the steady discharge of what they esteemed their duty to God and men, when actual force did not prevent them. The account of these uncompromising proceedings and their results, though the former were esteemed *foolishness* by the world, is full of instruction, and affords a practical comment on the words of our Lord, that "Wisdom is justified of all her children."

Brief notice of George Whitehead; taken chiefly from the Testimony respecting him, given by the Monthly Meeting of Devonshire-house, in London, of which he was a member.

He was born at Sun Bigs, in the parish of Orton, in Westmoreland, about the year 1636. He was educated at a grammar school in the neighbourhood, and appears to have made such progress in his literary pursuits as to have been employed for some time as a tutor. His parents had a view to educating him for the office of a minister in the Established Church, and his religious disposition and inquiring mind no doubt raised their sanguine hopes of his fitness for the office. In his seventeenth year, however, he embraced the opinions of the then universally despised Quakers; and in the following year he went forth, travelling on foot, to preach the Truth in several of the midland counties, and on one occasion nearly all the persons composing a meeting which he was addressing were convinced through his lively testimony and prayer.

"He was one," says the document referred to, "whom the Lord had fitly qualified and prepared by his Divine Power and Holy Spirit, for that work whereunto he was called, and whereby he was made one of the most able ministers of the Gospel in our day. He was a large experiencer of the work of God and deep mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, and was frequently opened in meetings to declare of and unfold the same, in the clear demonstration of the Spirit and Power; dividing the word aright, to the opening and convincing the understandings of many who were unacquainted with the way and work of Truth, and to the comforting, confirming, and establishing of the people and children of the Lord, in their journey and travel Zion-ward.

"He was not only a zealous contender for and assertor of the true faith and doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in a sound an intelligible testimony, but also was valiant and skilful in the defence thereof against adversaries and opposers of the same; and one who through a long course of many days, was careful to adorn the doctrine of our holy profession by a circumspect life and godly conversation, wherein the fruits of the Spirit, viz. love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance, did eminently shine forth through him to the praise and glory of God.

"Being thus qualified and of a meek and peaceable disposition, he was had in good esteem amongst most sorts of people that were acquainted with him; which tended much to the opening his way in his public service for Truth, and frequent solicitations unto several kings and parliaments, bishops and great men of this our land, for the relief and release of his suffering friends and brethren under sore persecutions and hard imprisonments, and for liberty of conscience, and also for relief in the case of oaths: in which labour of love and eminent services among other brethren, this our dear Friend was principally exercised; and the Lord was with him and made way for him in the hearts of the rulers of the land, so that his faithful labour was often crowned with success, to the comforting and rejoicing of the hearts of many suffering brethren.

"He was a good example to the flock, in his diligent frequenting of first and week-day meetings for public worship, and other meetings for the service of Truth, so long as this ability of body remained; willing to take all opportunities for publishing and promoting the Truth; zealous to support good order and discipline in the Church of Christ: and as he was not for taking hold suddenly of any, so he was exemplary in not being forward to cast any off, in whom there appeared any thing that was good; being always desirous to encourage the good in all, condescending to the weak, but admonishing the

faulty in the spirit of meekness and wisdom, that they might be preserved in love to Truth, and come into the unity of the one Spirit which is the bond of peace.

"We may truly say, he was a tender father in the Church, and as such was of great compassion, sympathizing with Friends under affliction whether in body or mind; a diligent visitor of the sick, and labouring to comfort the mourning soul: careful to prevent and diligent in composing differences.

"Dear Friends, much more we might say on the behalf of this our dear deceased Friend, an elder worthy of double honour; but it is not with us to give large encomiums of the dead; we have rather chosen to give but short hints of some of the Christian virtues and qualifications he was endued withal, believing there is a Witness in the hearts of many yet remaining, that doth testify for him and his faithful labours and service in his day; desiring the Lord may raise up many in the room of this and other worthy elders, some of whom are lately removed from us, and, we believe, taken into mansions of glory in the kingdom of God.

"It pleased the Lord to visit this our dear Friend with some severe pains and weakness of body, so that he was disabled for some weeks from getting to meetings; but he often expressed his desires for the welfare of the Church of Christ, and that Friends might live in love and unity.

"He continued in a patient resigned frame of mind to the will of God, waiting for his great change; rather desiring to be dissolved and be with Christ," saying: 'The sting of death was taken away.' He expressed a little before his departure, that he had a renewed sight or remembrance of his labours and travels, that he had gone through from his first convincement; he looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the Presence of the Lord had attended and carried him through them all.

"He departed this life in great peace and quiet, the 8th day of the 1st month, 1722–3, about the eighty-

seventh year of his age; and we firmly believe he died in the Lord, and is at rest from his labours, and his works follow him.

"He was a minister of the Gospel about sixty-eight years; and was buried the 13th of the 1st month, in Friends' burying ground near Bunhill Fields, amongst many of his ancient brethren: being attended by a very large number of Friends and others.

"Signed in and on behalf of the Monthly Meeting of Devonshire-House, the 15th day of the 3rd month, 1723, by forty Friends."

A short testimony to the excellence of George Whitehead's character was given by his intimate friend Richard Claridge, who was an eminent minister of the Society.

MEMOIRS, &c.

SECTION I.

George Whitehead's reasons for preparing his own Memoirs.—His account of his early life—and of his convincement of the doctrines of Friends.

Remembering the Lord our Gracious God in his ways, and merciful dealings with me from my youth; how He found me among his lost and strayed sheep, on the barren mountains of fruitless professions, and how He drew me to an inward experience of his Power and sanctifying work in my heart, and to know his teaching and spiritual ministry; thereby to enable me by degrees, experimentally to minister to others, and oblige me to live accordingly; as also to suffer patiently, with resignation of liberty and life for Christ's sake, when called thereunto, and being supported by his Power, and cheerfully carried through many great trials and deep sufferings for his Name's sake, and having had many eminent deliverances and preservations, even from my young years; I say, considering these things, I have been the more concerned for my friends and brethren, who for conscience' sake have deeply suffered by imprisonments, and spoil of goods; and in the tender bowels of Christ Jesus have truly sympathized with the faithful in their sufferings and afflictions; and in His love been many times moved and stirred up to plead their innocent cause before authority, as well as to solicit with great industry on their behalf; wherein the hand of the Lord has been often with me, and his Pre-

sence and counsel have strengthened and helped me, in answer to my prayers and supplications; and his Power by degrees prevailed to molify the hearts of many in the several governments towards us. Glory to the Name of the Lord our God, who pleaded the cause of the innocent!

For these reasons, a concern hath long been upon my spirit, to leave some remarks and footsteps, by an historical account, of my progress under the Lord's help and conduct, in his work and service: and in order thereto, to collect from divers papers, notes, and memorials I had reserved, some of those exercises and transactions wherein I have been both actively and passively concerned on Truth's account; and to digest the same into such a plain method as briefly as I well could, and as I thought might be most intelligible, both in point of fact and doctrine, with such observations as might conduce to the good end intended, namely, the Glory of God, the honour of his excellent Name, and the advantage of the serious reader, the more to consider of his Divine Grace and goodness, which endure for ever, to them that love and fear Him.

From early inclinations and desires which the Lord was graciously pleased to stir up in my heart towards his blessed Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, I was drawn to be inquisitive after the knowledge thereof, and how to become truly penitent, and witness a true amendment of life from such a vain conversation as, in my childhood, I had been prone to; being partly educated under a Presbyterian ministry, which the Lord showed me in divers things, came short of what they professed and pretended in their worships, preachings, and prayings; insomuch that I could not cordially join with them, before I heard of the people called Quakers; and being at a loss in my spirit, for what I sometimes secretly desired and wanted, I was as one bewildered; and wandered farther, seeking among other people who had some higher and more refined notions

concerning Spiritual Gifts, &c. I was then about fourteen years of age.

After a short time, I heard of some people called Quakers, who trembled at the word of God; and observing how they were reviled and reproached by loose and wicked people, occasioned my further inquiry, and thereupon the Lord gave me to believe they were his people: and I did contend for them and their principles, so far as they were represented favourable to me, before I was at a meeting of theirs, or heard any of them minister.

And though the Lord had raised good desires in me towards Himself, that I might know true repentance unto life, yet those desires were often quenched, and my mind led away through an airy, light disposition, after music, vain mirth, and other vanities. Howbeit, the Lord was graciously pleased secretly to follow me with judgment and reproof in my very young years, and renewed desires in me after the right way; but I wanted to know a stay to my mind, while a hearer of the priests and other professors, not knowing, nor following that Light of Christ in me, which convinced and reproved me for the sins of my youth.

The light shone in darkness, as in a dark place, before it shone out of darkness: the Spirit of the Lord moved upon the waters, even when darkness was upon the face of the great deep, before his works of old were wrought; and now, in order to bring forth his works in the new creation, and to make us new creatures in Christ Jesus, his Spirit moves upon people's hearts, even when unstable as waters; and his Light shines in them before they know God or Jesus Christ, in order to give them the knowledge of the glory and power of God, and of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

After some religious discourses with some young men soberly inclined, and when we had newly heard of a few people called Quakers, at Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, and in Kendal Barony in Westmoreland, I became desirous to go

to a meeting of theirs, which was at one Captain Ward's, at a place called Sunny-Bank, near Grayrig-Chapel.

At my first going, when I came into the said meeting and sat down seriously among them, after a little space of silence, a friend, one Thomas Arey, spake a little while of the spiritual deliverances, travels, and progress of the Lord's people in his way and work; alluding to Israel's deliverence out of Egypt, from under Pharaoh and his task-masters, &c. All this I thought I easily understood allegorically, as spiritualized; but what was most observable to me was, there appeared to me a great work of the Power of the Lord in the meeting, breaking the hearts of divers into great sorrow, weeping and contrition of spirit; which I believed was a godly sorrow for sin, in order to unfeigned repentance.

I was the more confirmed herein, on seeing a young maid go mourning out of the meeting, whom I seriously followed to observe her sorrowful condition; and on beholding her seated on the ground, with her face toward the earth as if she regarded nobody present, as she, mourning bitterly, cried out: Lord make me clean; O Lord! make me clean. This did far more tenderly and deeply affect my heart than what I had heard spoken, and more than all the preaching that ever I had heard from man; and was a certain testimony to me, the Spirit of the Lord evidencing to my spirit, that it was a real work of his Power upon her heart; which also operated upon the hearts of others, causing trembling, sorrow, and contrition, in order to bring them to true repentance and amendment of life, and so truly to experience the work of regeneration, and sanctification from sin and uncleanness; and accordingly such it proved unto many: glory to our God forever!

These things having made deep impression upon my mind, I was the more confirmed in the belief I had before, that the Lord was at work among that small despised people, and that He was about to gather and raise up a people unto Himself, to worship Him in spirit and in truth; for such He seeks to worship Him

acceptably: and this worship is not in the dead and empty forms set up in the will of man.

Under these considerations I was induced soon to leave the parish-priests, or ministers made by the will of man, having no Divine authority from God, nor commission from Christ to teach others; themselves not being good examples to the flock, their pride and covetousness being contrary to Christ's command and his ministers' example; insomuch that I knew I ought to turn away from them, after the Lord by his Light opened my eyes, to see the blindness of those guides whom I had followed by education and tradition.

And though I met with opposition and hard speeches from some near relations and others, for confessing and vindicating TRUTH according to that little measure of understanding I then had, being as yet but weak and young in years, and beset with divers temptations and discouragements; yet the Lord my God helped and persuaded me to take up a resolution, not only wholly to leave the said priests, but also constantly to resort to the meetings of this despised people called Quakers, and to sit down among them; though then but few in number, in comparison of what they have been since. The meetings which I frequented, were for some time in Sedbergh parish in Yorkshire, and sometimes at Grayrig, near Kendal, in Westmoreland, the county where I was born.

Some time after I was fully convinced and my mind turned to the Light, I was persuaded and resolved to persevere among Friends; before I heard our dear Friend G. Fox. The first time I heard him minister, was at an evening meeting at Sunny-Bank, at Captain Henry Ward's house. I was then very low, serious, and intent in my mind; willing to see and taste for myself, for my own inward satisfaction; and I saw and felt his testimony was weighty and deep, and that it proceeded from life and experience, and did bespeak Divine Revelation, and tended to bring to an inward feeling and sense of the Life and Power of Christ, and the

sanctifying operation thereof in the heart. His speech was not with affected eloquence or oratory, or human wisdom, but in the simplicity of the Gospel, to turn the mind to the Light and Life of Christ; and the Lord abundantly blessed his ministry to many.

Our meetings in Sedbergh were often at Thomas Blaykling's house, whose family was honest and of good reputation; and at Gervas Benson's house, who had been a justice of the peace; at Richard Robinson's at Brigflats, who was an innocent faithful man; and at other places near in those parts.

Being joined to the said people in derision termed Quakers, and being by the Grace of God, resolved to continue and persevere in their communion, and to wait upon God in his Light, wherewith He had enlightened my understanding in a good measure, I had great satisfaction therein; being sensible that our society and converse with one another, as we had received the love of the Truth, was helpful and encouraging to us, and tended to our edification and comfort: I greatly loved and delighted in the free conversation and fellowship of sober, faithful Friends.

When I was a school-boy, at the free school at Blencoe in Cumberland, I had loved retirement with sober, studious scholars, though but mean and poor in the world, rather than the company of loose, extravagant boys, though of the gentry or richer sort, who were given to much play and gaming; for in that company which I most affected, we were the most profitable one to another in our learning, and communicating the effects of our studies to each other: much more, in a spiritual and higher sense, when we were in some degree come to know the blessed Truth, in the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Christian society and communications therein of our inward experiences did all redound to our mutual help and edification in the love of the Truth, as it is in Christ the Light and Life, and our great Apostle and minister; who teaches his true followers to profit, in that love and life which flows from

Him, the Fountain and Foundation of all our mercies; to whom alone be the praise and glory thereof for evermore!

As to the progress which, by Divine assistance, I came to experience in the work of the Lord Jesus Christ in me, after I came to be settled in my mind and conscience to join in communion with the said people, and to frequent their assemblies as aforesaid; the Lord by his Light and Grace of his Holy Spirit, fully persuaded me that without being converted as well as convinced, and without being regenerated, sanctified, and born again, I could not enter into his kingdom nor be an heir thereof; and that the godly sorrow unto repentance, and a real amendment of life, must be wrought by his Grace and good Spirit in me; and that without holiness none can see God.

Upon these and such serious Christian considerations, I was persuaded by the Grace of God to give up in obedience to follow Christ Jesus; to believe in and obey his Light given me; and to wait therein diligently, to receive power from Him to become a true child of God; for to as many as truly receive Christ the Son of God, He gives power to become sons of God.

I saw it was my place to retire inward to the Light, to the Grace of God, the immortal incorruptible Seed, the ingrafted Word, which is our Divine Principle, and frequently testified of among the said people, according to Holy Scripture: and my mind being turned to this Light, I came plainly to see my inward and outward state; how much fallen into a state of degeneration, and how much depraved, corrupted, and alienated from the Life of Christ and of God. The very vanity of mind and thoughts, wherein I had been wandering and estranged from the Light and Life of Christ, became my great burden and exercise to be delivered from, that I might be truly renewed in the spirit of my mind, and therein joined to the Lord. Being persuaded to wait in the Light, in the way of his judgments, and to bear and submit to his fatherly chastisements and reproofs

of instruction—believing, that Sion must be redeemed through judgment, and her converts with righteousness —vain thoughts, imaginations, and wanderings of the mind, became a suffering and burden to me, and I earnestly sought the Lord for power to suppress them, and that He would give me victory over them all, and stay my mind upon Himself, that I might enjoy inward peace with Him.

In waiting upon God, and sincerely seeking after Him with my mind inwardly retired, and my soul desiring and breathing after his Name and Power, He was graciously pleased often to renew his merciful visitations to my poor soul, and in the midst of judgment and chastisements to remember mercy, that He might be feared; and the sense hereof did soften, break, and tender my heart, and cause me to be the more mindful of the work of the Lord our God, and the more to consider the operation of his Divine Hand, whose dealing with me was in judgment and mercy; his Eternal Word by judgment, caused fear and trembling in his presence; and by showing mercy, brokenness and true tenderness of heart. And in the lively remembrance thereof, I find still great cause to ascribe the praise and glory to his excellent Name, power, and Divine goodness, manifest through his dear Son, even the Son of his Love, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

SECTION II.

General prejudice against the principle of the New Society—His parents' views—His own progress and experience, and a statement of his principles and sentiments in regard to Christ as our sacrifice—As the Light of the world.—Necessity of repentance—Value of the Holy Scriptures—The New Covenant—Gospel Ministry.

Many of the Presbyterian priests, in those early days, in Westmoreland and other northern parts of England, appeared very envious against us, in the years 1652, 1653, 1654, &c.; and, in their lectures and sermons, much bestirred themselves to revile and reproach the Quakers and their ministers, terming them deceivers and antichrists, come in the last times; gathering what evil and false reports they could against us, and all to incense their credulous hearers; thereby setting both neighbors and families at variance and discord, like invidious sowers thereof.

I have known some of their hearers, even of my own relations and others, when they have come from their public worship, and from hearing a preachment against the Quakers, who have come full fraught therewith, to talk and prate against them, oftentimes nonsense: sometimes I have returned them a Christian answer, which when rejected, I have many times found it my place to be silent, and let them clamour and scoff on; the leaders of the people, even those priests, caused them to err, and with their sour leaven, soured the spirits of many into enmity.

My parents were hurt by them, and the more influenced against me for a time; until the Lord turned their hearts and opened their understandings, to see better than they could by following their blind guides, whose work was to make divisions among relations; yet their trouble and grief came more from their priest's

influencing them against us, and fear of my misfortune or or losing preferment in the world, than from any prejudice against me or my religious persuasion ; for they retained a real affection to me : and in the time of my being about three years absent from them in the ministry and service of the Truth, and in that time suffering several hard imprisonments and otherwise for the same, in Norfolk and Suffolk, were much reconciled; and when I returned to visit them they were loving, and their understandings and hearts were opened toward me and my Friends, who came to visit me at their house.

My mother, some years before her decease, was really convinced of the Truth, and became a Friend in her heart. And my father seeing the corruption, pride, and avarice of the priests, retained a love toward Friends till the end of his days. Likewise my sister Anne, before the death of her mother, became a friend to truth and Friends, and continued an honest, loving, and serviceable woman, until death.

It is observable, when the Priests could not prevail to stop the progress and spreading of the blessed Truth, and Power of Christ, nor prevent the increase of our Friends by all their reviling sermons and preaching against us, their work was to endeavour to incense the magistrates, justices, and the government, against the the People called Quakers ; whereupon divers justices and officers were instigated to persecution, and imprisoned many of our friends in Kendal and Appleby Goals in Westmoreland, for bearing testimony against them.

And I was moved in the dread and fear of the Lord, to bear public testimony against their wickedness in several of their places of worship in Westmoreland, before I travelled into the south parts of England, yet the Lord was pleased to preserve me then, from any harm or imprisonment.

Some time after I was conversant among our friends, and frequented the meetings to which I belonged in Westmoreland and Yorkshire, chiefly between the years

1652 and 1654, I was much inwardly exercised in waiting upon the Lord in them. We had but little preaching, our meetings being kept much and often in silence; yet the Lord was pleased sometimes by his Power and Word of Life, both to tender and open my heart and understanding, so that He gave me now and then a few words livingly to utter in some meetings to my friends, and to our mutual comfort, in Him who opened our hearts in great love one to another. Blessed be the Lord our God for ever!

It was out of these, and such our frequently silent meetings, the Lord was pleased to raise up, and bring forth living witnesses, faithful ministers, and true prophets, in early days in Westmoreland, and other northern parts, in the years 1654, 1655, &c. The Lord our God having in these latter days and times, been pleased to visit this island with his Gospel-day and Power, according to his promise unto the Gentiles, and the isles that should wait for his Law; and that his Elect, his Christ, (in whom his soul delighteth) should bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, *Isa.* xlii. We also waiting in true silence upon Him, and eyeing his inward appearance in spirit, and the work of his Power in us, came truly to feel our strength renewed, in living faith, true love, and holy zeal for his Name; insomuch that the Lord gradually brought us to experience what he said of old by his holy prophet: "Keep silence before Me, O islands! and let the people renew their strength; let them come near, then let them speak; let us come near together to judgment." *Isa.* xli. 1.

O! thus keeping silence before the Lord, and thus drawing near to Him in a true silent frame of spirit, to hear first what the Lord speaks to us, before we speak to others, whether it be of judgment or mercy, is the way for renewing our strength, and to be his ministers to speak to others only what He first speaks to us: Oh! that the people truly minded this: Oh! that they would seriously consider hereof, then would they not run after, or follow such of their ministers or priests as run and

God never sent them; who say: "Thus saith the Lord," when God hath not spoken to them; and "who shall not profit the people at all." *Jer.* xxiii.

The Lord was graciously pleased to lead me through the law, judgment, and condemnation against sin in the flesh, in order to bring me to the more glorious ministration and law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, the Foundation of the prophets, and to experience the mystery of John's ministry of repentance, the washing of regeneration, the axe being laid to the root of the tree, as well as to the cutting off the superfluous branches, that a thorough work of regeneration might be wrought. These things were spiritually, and by degrees experienced through the obedience of faith, waiting and persevering in the Grace, Light and Truth received from Christ, in order to obtain victory over sin and satan; that his work and the body thereof, might be destroyed root and branch.

And whatever Divine openings the Lord was pleased at any time to give me by his Holy Spirit, for my encouragement, by the increase of faith and hope, I saw I must still be mindful of his inward work, of grace, sanctification, and holiness, that it might go on and prosper, though many weaknesses and temptations attended, his Grace was sufficient for me, and oftentimes gave me strength and victory over the enemy of my soul, and frustrated his evil designs; and when he would have come in like a flood, with manifold temptations and devices, the spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him, and repelled him; Glory to our God, and to the Lamb, in whom is our salvation and strength for ever and ever; whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and his dominion from generation to generation!

As our blessed Lord Jesus Christ declared, If any man will do My will, he shall know of the doctrine. It was in the day of his power as the Light thereof did appear, that a willingness was wrought in my heart to do his will, and to follow Him in self-denial and taking up the daily cross, which every man must do, that will

be his disciple: by whose Light and teaching I came livingly to believe, understand, and receive those doctrines and principles essential to a Christian life and salvation, especially these following, viz.

1. God's free love in his dear Son Jesus Christ, and his universal Grace in him: and that Christ died for all men, who were dead in their sins; that He gave Himself a ransom for all, for a testimony in due time, of his free love to mankind; for it was by the grace of God that "Christ tasted death for every man;" so that the free Grace and love of God to mankind, are testified and evident both in Christ's dying for all men, and by his being the "Light of the World which enlightens every man coming into the world." *John* i. 4. 9.

2. The necessity of men's repenting, and truly believing the Gospel, and of being so converted to Christ, as to receive Christ, and to experience a living and steadfast faith in Him, in his Light, Name, and Power, in order to become the children and sons of God, it being by his Power, through faith therein, that men become the sons of God; and not by traditional belief, without spiritually receiving Christ into their hearts, to know his work of faith and power in them, unto conversion, and a real change of their hearts and minds, by the washing of regeneration, which is sanctification, the one baptism of the Spirit, for the washing us from our sins, and restoring us to newness of life in Christ Jesus. All which every true believer in Christ, our Light and Life, understands, and knows the necessity of, even of those things, which are agreeable to Holy Scripture testimony.

I always had a love to the Bible, and to reading therein, from my childhood, yet did not truly understand, nor experience those doctrines essential to salvation, nor the new Covenant Dispensation, until my mind was turned to the Light of Christ, the Living Eternal Word, the entrance whereof giveth light and understanding to the simple.

Yet I do confess, it was some advantage to me to

have frequently read the Holy Scriptures when I was ignorant, and did not understand the great and excellent things or matters therein testified of; for when the Lord had livingly in some measure opened my understanding in the Holy Scripture, by my often reading the same before, having the better remembrance thereof, it was a help and advantage to my secret meditations, when a lively sense and comfort of the Scriptures was in measure given me by the Spirit.

It is through faith which is in Christ, that the Holy Scriptures are said to make the man of God wise unto salvation, and are profitable to him, for doctrine, reproof, and instruction in righteousness, that he may be perfect and thoroughly furnished to every good word and work. Doubtless Paul esteemed Timothy's knowing the Holy Scriptures from a child, to be some advantage and help to him, but it was principally through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.

These things considered, I would not have Christian parents remiss in educating, and causing their children to read the Holy Scriptures, but to induce them both to learn and frequently to read therein.

I have sometimes observed pretty innocent children in reading in the Bible affected with the good things they have read, from a secret belief of them, which hath had such impression on their memories and affections, that they have been induced to a more serious consideration thereof, when the Lord has opened their understandings in some measure by the Light of his Grace.

By what I have here declared in commendation of Holy Scripture, I would not be understood to limit the gifts of the Spirit of God, or ministry thereof, or any of his divine graces, from the illiterate, the unlearned, or from persons of low and mean education, or calling, as ploughmen, herdsmen, shepherds, fishermen, &c. For God hath given of his Good Spirit, and excellent spiritual gifts even unto such, and hath promised to pour out of his spirit upon all flesh; and that sons and daugh-

ters should prophesy. *Joel* ii. 28. And Moses said: "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that He would put his Spirit upon them." *Numb.* xi. 29.

Now to return to my own experience and spiritual progress; my entrance thereinto, and very beginning in the Spirit, and believing in the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, was really in order to my coming into the New Covenant and Dispensation thereof, Christ being given both for a Light and a Covenant, and to be God's Salvation unto the ends of the earth. This New Covenant, is a covenant of grace, mercy, and peace with God in his dear Son Jesus Christ. It is that reconciliation, that near agreement with God and Christ, which man must come into if ever he enjoys true peace. It is in this Covenant that all the Lord's people know Him, from the least to the greatest, and are all taught of God, having also his law written in their hearts, and put into their minds, by his Holy Spirit. It is in this covenant that the Lord blots out all their former forsaken transgressions, and remembers their sins and iniquities no more, they continuing in this Everlasting Covenant, and in his goodness: He is a God keeping covenant and mercy for ever, to them that fear Him. Oh! my cry, my soul's breathing, my inward spiritual travail, my watchings and prayings, have been—O Lord preserve and keep me in thy holy fear, in humility, in the sense of thy Power; that I may never depart from Thee, nor from thy Covenant: that I may never dishonour thy Truth, or our holy profession. And hitherto the Lord has helped me on my spiritual journey and race towards the prize: I ascribe the glory and praise only to Him, "who giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might He increaseth strength;" and often in my weak estate, hath manifested strength: salvation and strength come from Him who is the God of our salvation, that his redeemed ones may sing of his judgments and mercies, and ascribe salvation to our God, and to

the Lamb that sits with Him upon the throne, in glory and majesty for ever.

It was my belief after my convincement, that all who are truly called into Christ's ministry, must be sanctified, divinely inspired, and gifted for that sacred work and service of our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ; they must be careful that their "conversation be as becometh the Gospel;" they must live good lives, as well as speak good words; they must be men fearing God, and eschewing evil; hating covetousness, and giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed; concering which the Lord hath laid upon me a godly care, which still remains upon me, both for myself and others, that our ministry be not blamed, and that no offence may be given to cause blame thereupon. What signifies it for any to have a name to live, when they are dead! Or for loose, vain, proud, covetous, unsanctified persons, to pretend to be in holy orders, when they themselves are altogether unholy, polluted, and sinful!

What that kingly prophet David earnestly prayed to God for in Psalm 51, doth truly set forth the state and condition of true Gospel ministers, whose ministry is attended with his Power and Presence, and thereby made effectual for the conversion of sinners unto Him: "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin." "Create in me a clean heart, O God! and renew a right Spirit within me: cast me not away from thy Presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy Free Spirit. Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee." These things have I sincerely aimed at, and earnestly desired of the Lord; and in Spirit travailed for, with my soul and whole heart. And the Lord in measure answered me therein, before I travelled abroad in the ministry of the Gospel of Christ, even the Gospel of the Grace of God: which He gave and increased from small beginnings in me, and unto me,

blessed be his most excellent Name for ever: For He promised unto his people, saying, "I will give you pastors according to my own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding." *Jer.* iii. 15. They only are true pastors and ministers who are of his giving; and many such He has given and will give in this Gospel day, according as was testified by a preacher both of Christ as come in the flesh, and of the mystery of Christ as come in the Spirit: "Even the Mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this Mystery among the Gentiles, which is CHRIST IN YOU, the hope of glory; whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus; whereunto I also labour, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily." *Col.* i. 26—29.

According to a belief that God would reveal this Mystery of Christ in us, I was made tenderly concerned to wait for the same, that I might witness and feel the Power and coming of Christ in Spirit, both to sanctify my heart, and give me understanding to do his will. And when He called me to bear testimony for his Name and Power, and also for his inward and spiritual work in man, I was engaged to wait for his Power and Spirit to move and work in me; and that I might labour in his service according to his working in me; and not otherwise run, strive, or strain in my own will, wisdom, or strength, as knowing that without Christ, his power and presence, help and counsel, I could, of myself, do nothing, nor any one else. And when my ability was but small, and I in much weakness, fear, and trembling many times, the Lord helped me, and increased strength and ability in my labours beyond expectation; this care still resting upon me even in my early travels, to minister only according to the ability given me of my Heavenly Father, and to keep within compass of my own gift; and when the

Spirit of the Lord opened and moved but in a few words, I must not exceed, but sit down in silence when that ceased. Many times in waiting upon the Lord, and secretly breathing to Him in silence, the Spring of Life would arise, and open counsel afresh to my own and others' refreshment and consolation: many times hath my soul been brought low, and the Lord hath helped me, and renewed my strength to persevere in his service; being sensible the more low I was in myself, and the more in fear toward God, though but weak and simple of myself, the more He would manifest his Power, and bless my endeavours and service. Let Him have the praise of all, who is for ever worthy.

SECTION III.

His travels in Yorkshire—Visits Lincoln, Cambridge, Norwich, and Wymondham.—Ranters.—Visits other places in Norfolk and Suffolk—Returns to Norwich—Imprisoned there—Proclamation asserting liberty of conscience—Further visits in Norfolk and Suffolk.

After many blessed and comfortable seasons, and refreshment from the Presence of our Heavenly Father, which we enjoyed in our meetings before mentioned in the northern parts; and having cleared my conscience in testimony for the Truth, both in word, and Christian conversation toward my parents and relations, being some time with them before I travelled abroad into the south parts of England, a weighty concern came upon me, to leave my father's house and county of Westmoreland, and to travel abroad southward, which I acquainting some Friends with, my dear friend Edward Edwards, who then was a young man and lived at Gervase Benson's, near Coatley Cragg, above Sedbergh, though he was not then called into the ministry, gave up to travel with me, and to keep me company to York, it being the latter end of the summer, in the year 1654. Both of us were given up to travel on foot, and went together directly to York, where we stayed two or three nights, and were at Friends' meeting there on the First-day, which was but small; and I had a few words given me livingly to declare among them.

Thence we travelled farther southward in Yorkshire, and met with our beloved friend and brother in Christ, George Fox, at one Captain Bradford's, where we were at a meeting with him; and afterward we travelled into East Holderness, to Joseph Storr's, where again we met with George Fox and divers other friends, and were comforted together, and travelled a little while in that country to some meetings where he was,

who then had the public service wholly upon him there, for the strengthening and settling Friends in the Light and in the Truth.

I had some testimony laid upon me to bear at two steeple-houses, before I left that county, but met with no hard usage, except haling out; the Lord supporting me in faith and hope of a service He had for me farther south. My honest, dear friend, Edward Edwards and I, parted in Holderness; and Thomas Ralison, who travelled with George Fox, came with me to Hull, whence we went that night over the river Humber into Lincolnshire; we had a rude, abusive, drunken company in the boat, who, though they threatened, and otherwise abused us, the Lord preserved us from being harmed by them.

George Fox and Alexander Parker overtook us (being on foot) in our way toward Lincoln; and we got to a place that night where was a meeting next day, being the first day; and a burthen came upon me, to go and bear testimony for the Truth at two steeple-houses, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. I had no harm nor violence at either, except pulling or pushing out; but Thomas Ralison being at that in the afternoon, was abused and beaten, and followed into the field by a parcel of young fellows; and I was sorry that he was so evilly treated. Next day he and and I parted, and I took leave of Gerge Fox and friends with him, and travelled on toward Lincoln, taking a meeting by the way; where the Lord opened my mouth in a living testimony. After this I went to Lincoln that night, being but a few miles; and there met with John Whitehead, who had been exercised in a public service in that city, and met with some acceptance. I staid but one night in Lincoln, being pressed in spirit to travel forward toward Cambridge and Norwich, though left to travel alone and still on foot. I went to Cambridge from Lincoln in less than three days, the days being then short, though my feet were galled and blistered even before I came out of Yorkshire; yet they

amended before I got to Norwich, and I was preserved in health all along; which I thankfully esteemed as a great mercy from God, being then not eighteen years of age.

At Cambridge I was received kindly by Alderman Blakeling and his wife, and by the few Friends there. James Parnel met me before I went thence, and we were comforted, and among those Friends when we met. After two or three days' stay, I was still pressed in spirit for Norwich. From Cambridge Thomas Lightfoot travelled with me; and we got to about three miles from Thetford in Norfolk the first night, being showery weather; but it was something difficult to get lodging for our money at a little village where we staid, they were so shy of us; yet being at a house where they sold beer, we prevailed with them to entertain us that night; but the room wherein we lodged was cold and mean, and the windows so shattered, that the snow came in upon us. The next day we travelled to Wymondham, where one Robert Constable and his wife kindly received us: being convinced a little time before, by our dear friend Richard Hubberthorn, then prisoner in Norwich Castle, for bearing public testimony to the truth at the Steeple-house at Wymondham, where those called Independents met.

We went to Norwich next day, and I visited Richard Hubberthorn in prison, where we gladly embraced each other in dear and tender love, and were comforted together in the Lord; there being then a few Friends in that city convinced by his testimony and suffering. The most serviceable Friend then in that city, was Thomas Symonds, a master-weaver, who received travelling friends: he was a loving honest man, and came to receive a gift in the ministry, and was faithful unto death. He lived and died in the faith, and was partaker of the promises which are "yea and amen in Christ Jesus." He was exemplary in Truth, and serviceable both in the city of Norwich and county of Norfolk.

Though I expected to suffer imprisonment in that

city; yet the Lord so ordered I had liberty some weeks to have divers meetings at Thomas Symond's house and at Wymondham, at one Robert Harvey's, a glover, who was an honest, innocent man, that received the Truth in the Love of it. To a meeting at his house, came captain John Lawrence, &c. who being then tenderly affected with Truth, was desirous I should have a meeting at his house at Wramplingham, which I was glad of.

To that meeting came three priests, viz. Jonathan Clapham, priest of the town, and other two on purpose to oppose. They staid in the parlour until the meeting was settled, and peeped out to see me; and because of my youth, I was contemptible in their eyes, to discourse with; and I understood they slighted me the more because thereof. However Jonathan Clapham, as one ambitious and more regarding worldly honour, than seeking that honour which is from above, undertook to oppose and document me, about our not respecting persons by bowing, &c. pleading what he could for it; and the Lord gave me suitable and scriptural replies, which in the spirit of meekness I returned upon him and his party, and laid open some of their unscriptural and unwarrantable practices; and feeling the Lord's power and counsel with me, I had dominion given me to vindicate the Truth, to the confounding of the opposers. After some short time, the said Jonathan Clapham, and another priest with him, (one Purt) withdrew, but the third priest staid until the meeting was over; for after the contest with the other two priests was ended, I had a very good and blessed opportunity to declare the Truth, and open divers matters of weight, as the Lord was pleased to open to me, and enlarge my Spirit to demonstrate; insomuch that at the same meeting, most of John Lawrence's family, with divers others, were convinced and persuaded of the way of Truth. And the Lord gave me great comfort and encouragement by his Divine assistance in his work and service that day; and Friends then present, were great-

ly satisfied therein. And those same priests' contempt of me his poor servant, and weak instrument, turned to the contempt and disgrace of themselves ; so that I had then and often, cause to ascribe the "Glory and praise to the Lord our God," and to declare in praise to Him: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." *Psal.* viii. 2.

The said John Lawrence received the Truth, and the Lord's Messengers, in great love and tenderness; and gave up freely in obedience thereunto. When he knew a beginning in the Spirit, he turned not back; but did persevere, and bore a faithful testimony in suffering for the Truth, both in his person and goods. His and his family's turning to Truth and Friends, was a means to induce and draw many after them, to Christ's Light and free Ministry, that they might know Him to be their Minister, their High Priest, their Shepherd, and the Bishop of their Souls.

Near that time, in the ninth and tenth months, 1654, I had divers meetings in and near Wymondham, and also in Norwich; and the Lord was with me, and helped me to publish his Name and Truth; to preach the everlasting Gospel, and to turn many from darkness to the Light, and from the power of sin andsatan unto God and his power; that people might not continue in empty forms and shadows, but come to the life and substance of true religion, and to the power of godliness, and to know Christ to be their Teacher and Leader, whose voice his sheep hear; and they will not follow the voice of a stranger.

And many in those parts were convinced of the truth of these things, and turned to the Light of Christ in them. Let the work of the Lord praise Him which began in those days, and since has prospered in that country, both in the offspring of many who then at first received the love of the Truth, and in many others, whom the Lord hath blessed in their obedience, and

willingness to serve Him; being come unto the dawning of the day of Christ's Power, wherein his people are a willing people. *Ps.* cx. 3.

The first opposition I met with in the city of Norwich, was at a meeting at the said Thomas Symond's house, by one Scarf, an Antinomian preacher, who pleaded for sin to continue term of life, even in the best of saints, from Paul's warfare, &c. *Rom.* vii. And yet though they still continue sinners in themselves, they are not under the Law, but under Grace, and reckoned righteous in Christ. Much such sin-pleasing doctrine we met with from professors in those days, whom in the Name of the Lord we withstood, as I did the said Antinomian; and by the Lord's help, stood over Him and his perverse gainsayings, to his confusion; for I saw those Antinomians very dark and corrupt in doctrine, contrary to Christ's work, which is to destroy sin, and to save his people from sin and transgression.

At that meeting, there were some of those persons deemed Ranters,* allowing corrupt liberty. One of the chief of them seemed to own what I said against the Antinomian; I had then given me a sense that he was of a corrupt spirit, and told him, I denied his spirit also, as I did the opposers, for I felt a zeal from the Lord against them both; and the Lord's power over all, in whose service He did strengthen and encourage me from one meeting to another, insomuch that I was sure the Lord stood by me, and strengthened my spirit in his work and service; and the more I travelled and laboured therein, the more my strength in Him increased; for which my soul did often praise his glorious Name, and sing praises to him, even in solitary places.

A little time after I had another meeting at the said Thomas Symond's house, on a first day of the week; and there came a company of those persons who were gotten into the spirit of Ranterism; and the same per-

* An unsettled class of people: many of them, as here stated, of corrupt principles; and others wild in their ideas.

son who seemed to take my part before against the Antinomian opposer, was one of the company. In that same meeting, the Power and dread of the Lord God, fell so weightily upon me to bear testimony against sin and wickedness, root and branch—against the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life—the love of the world, &c. that the powerful word of the Lord pierced through the meeting, and so wonderfully struck down the spirits of those ranters, and other loose spirits, that they came to me that evening like men greatly wounded, and struck down in their spirits, from their high floating notions of Ranterism; insomuch that they questioned their salvation, which before they thought themselves secure of, as if their mountain could never be removed; yet then they were under doubts and fears, and such like questioning, as, "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?"

In compassion to their poor souls, I earnestly exhorted them to bear the judgment of the Lord and his indignation, because they had greatly sinned against Him; that they might find mercy from Him, through true humiliation and repentance; with such necessary counsel and warning, as the Lord by his Light then showed me was most suitable to their conditions; for I never was acquainted with that sort of people before those in Norwich; whereupon the most of them were convinced of the Truth, and divers of them came to be reformed in their lives and conversation; though some turned back into their corrupt, carnal liberty, through want of watchfulness, and not keeping in the fear of God.

We have seen in our day, that where the deadly wound in the beast, or beastly nature, hath been healed, in those who have not gone forward through mortification, nor patiently waited to see judgment brought forth into victory, they have miscarried, and turned from the Grace of God into lasciviousness, or to embrace the world, and thereby to sell the Truth, and themselves too, even their poor souls, for their own iniqui-

ties: "Behold for your iniquities have you sold yourselves." *Isa.* l. 1.

Some time after the aforementioned meeting at John Lawrence's, I went to visit him and his family, and relations that were with them; his wife and her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Bedwell, and others of the family being convinced, and truly loving to Friends, as were their children likewise; being also glad of the good service I had at their house, where the three priests were so greatly disappointed of their designed conquest, and so much confounded. Elizabeth Bedwell told me, that the priest's wife of the town and she having had discourse before the said meeting, and expecting some dispute to be there between the priests and the Quaker, the priest's wife asked her, saying, Mrs. Bedwell, which side will you be for? Elizabeth pleasantly answered her, I'll be for the strongest side. After the meeting was over, the priest's wife told Elizabeth, now Mrs. Bedwell, I know you'll be of the Quaker's side, for you said you would be for the strongest.

The said Elizabeth Bedwell continued a faithful, innocent, loving Friend in the Truth, and a plain, lowly example of humility until death; and her husband a loving man, and friend to Truth and Friends; especially in his latter years.

It is worthy to be remembered, that both John Lawrence's mother, and his wife's also, who were very ancient women, came to be convinced, and received the Truth in those times and continued Friends to the last.

Also Joseph Lawrence, who was brother to John Lawrence, and his wife, received the truth and Friends in true love and became very serviceable, Joseph suffered considerably by imprisonment. His wife lived not many years after she received the Truth; but in her day was a very virtuous, sober, ingenuous, and loving Friend; and by her sober life and good example, left a sweet savour behind her.

Our ancient and faithful friend, William Barber, of Gissing, in the same county of Norfolk, and his wife

also, did early receive the Truth and Friends in great love and tenderness, in 1654. I first met him, as I remember, at Diss in Norfolk, and declared the Truth to him and some others present, and opened something of the mystery of Christ, and of the ministry and work of his spirit within; and also of the enemy's contrary work in man, as the Lord was pleased to open and enable me. William was very tenderly affected, and broken into tears; and his spirit bowed and humbled, though he had been a great man and captain in the army: Truth was near in him, and I felt him near it; and my heart was open and tender toward him, in the Love of Christ.

It was some time longer before I saw his wife; she was an honest, sober woman, received the Truth and Friends in great love and tenderness; and continued a faithful, innocent, and loving Friend until her dying day. I observed the Lord endued her with much patience, considering the great and long suffering her husband endured by imprisonment in Norwich castle, for the space of twenty years, or above; chiefly for non-payment of tithes to an old priest of the parish, who appeared implacably malicious in his prosecution, or rather persecution and revenge. The said William Barber bore a faithful testimony through patience and long suffering; I know of none who suffered like him in those parts, though many Friends thereabouts have suffered deeply on the same account; and the Lord supported them therein.

After I had laboured and travelled some weeks in that county, in the work of the Lord, in the winter, 1654, a weighty concern came upon me to travel into Suffolk. As we went, Robert Constable, the Friend who went with me, procured an evening meeting at a town called Bottesdale, where the people were pretty civil and quiet. The day after, we went to Mendlesham, to Robert Duncan's, of whom I had a good account before, and of his being desirous of some Friends to visit them in those parts; for a meeting of an honest

minded people had been some time kept at his house, dissenting from the parish priests and their worship; and yet they had several preachers, or such as esteemed themselves spiritually gifted, in some degree, to preach and pray among them.

When I came to his house, he kindly received me; next day being the First-day of the week, was their meeting at his house, to which I went and sat in silence for some space, waiting upon the Lord in his holy fear, to see and feel what he would please, by his power, to open unto me to declare to the people there met; being in expectation to hear what should be delivered unto them. Some of their teachers seemed a little uneasy with our being silent so long as we then were; whereupon Robert Duncan spake a few words to this purpose: that peradventure they had been too much in words, or depending on men's teaching; and therefore God now might see it meet to bring them into silence, that they might come more to depend upon Him for teaching.

Some of their preachers were for putting forward one or other of them to prayer; I let them alone, and patiently bore them in their voluntary devotion. After a little respite, the Lord opened and made way for me to preach the Truth unto them, to turn their minds to the True Light, that they might know the Immortal Seed, and birth which is from above, unto which God's Everlasting Love is; and that seed and birth which He hates, to be subdued, crucified, and slain. It was to the inward work of his Spirit, and knowledge of Christ in Spirit, and that they might know God's teaching by his Spirit, that I truly desired they might all come.

I was among them in much humility, meekness, and poverty of spirit, wherein the Lord was with me, and by his invisible power helped me, for his own Name's sake, yea, and his seed's sake; which I felt among that people; for the Lord had a tender seed and people among them; towards whom my soul was truly affected, in the love and bowels of Christ Jesus my Lord and

Leader, who went before me in his Gospel work and service: to Him be the glory thereof for ever!

The said meeting was kept and ended in much sobriety and seriousness; and no opposition made therein to what the Lord gave me to declare among them; the people being for the most part well inclined, and convinced of the Truth then testified unto. And the meeting remained, and was held in that place, they being so well satisfied with the Truth and Dispensation of the Spirit, as professed and owned among the people called Quakers, that the Friends thereof were content to wait upon the Lord together in silence, to know and receive Life, Power, and Teaching also from Him. And the Lord for many years prospered them, although when that meeting was reduced to know a state of silence, some of their former preachers left it for a time, yet afterwards returned; especially one that was most noted, namely Edward Plumpstead, senior, who not only came to be a loving Friend in our Society, as his wife and family were, but also a preacher of the Truth among Friends, some years before he died.

I was again concerned in spirit to return to Norwich, and that neighbourhood, where I had some effectual service for the blessed Truth, among the Friends convinced thereof, and other well inclined people; also to visit my beloved friend and brother Richard Hubberthorn, as often as I could, he being still detained prisoner in Norwich castle, where he had but a poor hole to lodge in, upon the end of a cross wall; which being a little old stone arched hole or room, it broke, and fell down not many years after. It was the Lord's mercy it fell not while he was in it.

A few days after, near the end of the tenth month, 1654, there was a lecture at that called Peter's Church in Norwich, and I believed the Lord required me to go thither, to bear such testimony as He would please to give me, being endued with a holy zeal against iniquity, and the pride and covetousness of the high priests in those days; as well as with compassion to the ignorance and blindness of the people misled by them.

When the priest had ended his sermon, I was suffered to say but a few words against iniquity, &c. when some of the priest's hearers came violently upon me to hale me out, some pulling by one arm, and some by the other, contrary ways; some striving to hale me out at the north door, and some out at the south porch, by which violence I then got some hurt, and a pain in one side of my breast, being overstrained by their pulling and haling me; but it pleased the Lord in a few days to remove the hurt and pain I got, by that hard usage. From the steeple house I was haled to their guild-hall, before Thomas Toft, mayor, who after examination about water baptism, and some other things, committed me to the city gaol.

The mayor seemed to seek occasion against me because he had none, by his questioning me about water baptism, asking me, if the baptism of John was from heaven, or of men? To which I answered him, if they who now plead for water baptism, could prove, or make it appear they have commission from heaven to baptize, as John had, I would own it. But I supposed he did not intend so, but was for sprinkling infants. However, though he could get no advantage against me, he would send me to prison.

In the said prison I and some others were but hardly treated by the keeper, one Hunt, who demanded for one bed for three of us, four-pence a night of each; we thought it was hard measure to demand twelve-pence a night of prisoners for one mean bed, for three men to be crowded together in, and that in a cold room, where another prisoner lodged in a bed to himself; so that we not finding freedom to gratify the gaoler in his oppression and covetousness, and afraid to bring any charge upon any of our Friends, to procure us better accommodation in prison, thought ourselves necessitated to lodge upon the bare boards of the floor in our wearing clothes, and little covering besides; and thus we lodged for eight weeks together in the cold winter, whereby, though we endured much cold, yet were

through the Lord's mercy generally preserved in health. Such kind of hardship I might think the greater, having been tenderly brought up by my parents, and being only about eighteen years old, when thus imprisoned in 1654. Whilst we were prisoners, our dear friend, Thomas Symonds aforesaid, was sent to prison to us, only for asking a priest a question in the steeple-house after sermon.

At the next sessions for the city, James Lancaster and I were had into court, before one Charles George Cock, then judge; and the great offence he took against us, was our not putting off our hats in court, which we could not for conscience sake submit to, nor to do such homage to mortal man. This he seemed to resent, as a contempt to the court and authority, pleading for respect to superiors, as the duty of servants to masters. I signified that servants ought to perform their duties, and to serve their own masters, not with eye service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart; whereas putting off the hat, and bowing to men, and thereby respecting their persons, is but an eye service, and menpleasing, and no real service or duty to superiors or government; neither do we know any law broken by our wearing our hats, any more than by wearing the rest of our garments; nor do we thereby intend any contempt against authority. After a few words of this import, I bore the judge's threatening and insulting patiently, and stood still in silence.

John Bolton of London, being behind me in court, suddenly plucked off my hat, with the other Friend's, supposing thereby to pacify the judge, and prevent our farther suffering; he with another friend or two being come from London to visit us: howbeit we were remanded back to prison, our cold place of confinement. Suddenly after, our Friend John Bolton, was sorely troubled in his conscience for plucking off our hats; and could not rest quiet in himself, until he returned into court again, and made open profession against himself, condemning what he had done in taking off our

hats. Upon which, as it was related to me, the judge signified, he thought what John had done, would not hold with the Quaker's principle. John had not been long a professed Quaker; yet he continued zealous for Truth unto his end.

It may be observed, that the judge of the said court of sessions in Norwich, was tenderly cautioned beforehand by letter from us who were prisoners, against that very course which he took against us in sessions. However I was discharged by the judge; yet for some time after, detained in prison by Hunt the gaoler, pretending he had laid actions upon us for what he claimed as a debt owing for lodging; upon which we were continued in prison, under the same hardships in the cold winter, in all eight weeks or above, until the said gaoler died. And then we were actually freed out of prison, so that the Lord delivered us by removing our unmerciful oppressor.

About this time a proclamation was issued by the commonwealth in which many just principles were asserted in regard to liberty of conscience.

It proclaimed however no new favour to the poor Quakers, who, in company with the Ranters whose principles and practices they always disavowed, were deemed unworthy of additional liberty, as acting in a manner opposed to the freedom and liberty of others. This charge no doubt had reference to the very active spirit which Friends displayed in the propagation of what they deemed gospel truth, in which cause they were frequently led to make public declarations in streets, market places, and fairs, and also at the usual places of worship, when the regular services were gone through.

Soon after George Whitehead's commitment to Norwich prison, an answer to the proclamation was issued, signed by him and two of his fellow prisoners, from which the following extracts are made, and with which we resume the abstract of his own account.

The proclamation was against such as openly and avowedly, by rude and unchristian practices, disturb both public and private Christian meetings in their religious exercises in the worship of God, whereby the liberty of the gospel, the profession of religion, and the name of God is much dishonoured and abused. And many informations being given forth of such practices, by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters, and such practices are disliked in all, and proclaimed against, which be contrary to the just liberty and freedom which the people of this commonwealth is to be protected in, &c.

Ans. The Power which is received, immediately from God, brings into the true liberty and freedom as pertaining to conscience; and the pure law of God which came from the same Power, takes hold upon that which oppresseth the good seed, and conscience also.

And though liberty of conscience, and liberty of godliness have been long pretended and promised, yet the same is not yet performed, nor fulfilled unto those who have been free to lay down their lives, for this liberty of conscience so promised and professed. Now when the Lord hath enlightened us by his True Light, and brought us to walk with a pure conscience toward God and man, we find more tyranny, cruelty, and plotting mischief against us, than ever those accounted enemies of the Commonwealth invented to take away our lives; though no man can lay any evil to our charge done or acted, or law broken by us.

But for declaring the Truth freely, as it is made manifest in us from the Lord, against all deceit and unrighteousness of men, we are shut up and kept close in holes and prisons, among thieves and murderers. This is the reward and liberty we receive from the world, for declaring unto them the eternal Truth of God, who hath called us, whom we cannot deny for the world's advantage. *Mat.* v. 11. 12.

For witnessing forth in life and power that which

protection is promised to, many now suffer in England, and have not their just liberty in the exercise of godliness, though not found guilty of any of those unchristian practices proclaimed against.

The people called Quakers, do not impose upon the consciences of their brethren, or any others, any thing which may embondage their just liberty or freedom in the things of God, but do desire their liberty, that all bondages and ties may be taken off the consciences of all people in matters of the worship of God; and for the purchasing of this liberty, do we suffer bonds and imprisonments, beatings, stonings, stocking, and other cruel usage, from those who profess themselves Christians, magistrates, and rulers in this Commonwealth.

And as touching the many informations said to be given forth of such practices by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters; (i. e. of rude and unchristian practices which are disliked;)

We answer—We do utterly deny the principles and practices of Ranters; who, from the Light of Christ, which is pure in the conscience, are turned into the liberty of the flesh, and into all uncleanness, and to practice those things to which the plagues of God are due, and upon which the vials of the wrath of God are to be poured out.

How contrary to the liberty and protection, universally promised and proclaimed, our unjust imprisonment in the castle and city of Norwich is, may plainly appear to all persons of understanding, we being by the Eternal Spirit of the Living God called from our earthly habitations, freely to declare and make manifest the Eternal Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, as made manifest in us by the Eternal Spirit, coveting no man's silver or gold; but freely declaring what we have freely received from God, in love to the souls of all people, that they might also be partakers with us of the powerful Truth of God; that their souls might live in it and know the pure God, whom all the

world in their first state are ignorant of, and enemies to.

Besides our hard usage, and the severity of our confinement, to add affliction to our bonds, one Sampson Townsend, by trade a weaver, who had taken upon him the habit and place of a priest in Austin's parish in Norwich, to make himself famous, published a book or pamphlet against us, to defame us, after we were committed to prison, as being in Norwich gaol for errors and miscarriages, as deniers of the Word of God, and the Scriptures, &c. but his envy and falsehood were publicly detected. Nevertheless, after Townsend removed to Repham, I having a meeting in that town, he came to oppose me, but made little work of it; for he was manifestly confounded, not acknowledging the Word to be before the Scriptures, but asserting them to be the *only* Word of God; which was his old objection against us when in Norwich prison, for our testimony to Christ's being the Word, which was in the beginning, &c. At that meeting I told him, the word of the Lord came unto the prophet, saying, &c. "and these are the words of Jeremiah to whom the word of the Lord came," *Jer.* i. 1.

So that the Holy Scriptures or writings, are or contain the sayings or words of the Eternal Word, that is, of God and Christ, as given and revealed unto his servants, prophets, and ministers: holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, 2 *Pet.* i. 21. What John was commanded to write, were the true sayings of God, *Rev.* xix. 9. But of Christ he saith, his Name is called "the Word of God," *verse* 13. And I think it is no slighting, much less contempt of the Holy Scriptures, to own them either as the words or true sayings of God, without giving them the same Name or Title, which more properly belongs to Christ or God.

After our discourse at the said meeting at Repham, as I was riding out of the town, the word of the Lord

came upon me, to warn the people in the street to repentance, &c. who (for no other cause) evilly intreated me, by stoning me in a furious manner; insomuch that I could scarcely get my horse to stand, or abide in the place where I declared the Truth to them, until they became more calm and quiet; so that I cleared my conscience to the people; for the Lord stood by me, and so preserved and defended me by his Power and merciful Providence, that I got scarce any harm by all their stoning me; but thereby they showed what fruit their minister, my opposer, had brought forth by his busy, envious opposition against us.

And now to return to the course of my intended narrative; when James Lancaster and myself were actually freed out of Norwich prison, which was, as I remember, in the first month, called March, 1654–5, the oppressing gaoler being removed by death, and his wife more tender than he was. I really believed the special hand of the Lord was in our deliverance; and I was very thankful to Him that we were so well freed out of that prison, but we left C. Atkinson still there. In a short time after I was released, I went to see two prisoners, who remained; whereupon I was apprehended, and had before Thomas Toft, mayor, and again committed to the said prison; and detained for about three weeks, without any proof or colour of transgression, or law against me, but only the arbitrary will and prejudice of the said mayor.

However the Lord did not suffer him to detain me long, having other and further work and service for me to do, for his Name and Truth's sake.

The reason of the said C. Atkinson's remaining in prison after the rest, was partly an action or an attachment of privilege, laid upon him by an attorney, for speaking some rash or hard words to him, which he supposed were actionable; also the priest who then used to preach to the prisoners, took occasion to complain against him, for some words spoken, whereby the priest was affronted. However, poor man, the said

C. A. was not altogether so prudent, meek, or gentle in his conduct as he ought to have been; and that was not all, but worse befell him after he was left alone in prison; for though he got more liberty, and better accommodation than we had in prison when together, yet he falling into too much familiarity and conversation with such as were somewhat inclining to a spirit of Ranterism, he grew loose and waxed wanton against Christ, his Light and Truth; insomuch that at a certain time having a little liberty granted him out of prison, Richard Clayton and I met him at a Friend's house in the country, and perceiving him got into too much lightness and liberty, we met with him alone, and seriously admonished and cautioned him, which he could scarce bear, without appearing offended and in passion; thereupon I was jealous what might befall him, insomuch that some stop came upon me secretly, that I had scarce freedom afterward to visit him in prison. He had been over much affected by some weak, indiscreet persons, and set up above his place, to his hurt; and some young men have been hurt thereby.

After some time his iniquity became obvious, of which my dear brother Richard Hubberthorn gave me notice. Richard and Thomas Symonds went to see him, and he told them there was no redemption for him: thus he was tempted to despair, by the enemy that had prevailed over him, yet he gave out a severe testimony in condemnation against himself. When I heard of his foul miscarriage, it brought deep sorrow upon me, even unto solitary mourning and tears for Truth's sake, and our poor innocent Friends', who had lately received the Truth; being sensible that both would greatly suffer, and be reproached thereby; however the Lord relieved me after a little while, and laid it the more upon me to labour and travel about in those parts, to strengthen the weak, to help and comfort the feeble, to vindicate the blessed Truth and Way thereof, and to exalt and set the same over the head of all deceit and wickedness and backsliders, and such as turn into

the pollutions of the world; well knowing and reminding Friends and others, that the Truth is the same, and never changes, and ought not to be blamed; but such who turn their backs on it, are condemnable; and judgment follows them. And it was the Lord that stood by me in that service, and by his power helped and strengthened me, to strengthen and help many; so that the scandal took the less effect to do hurt or mischief in those parts: glory and dominion to our God and the Lamb, for ever and ever!

After my release out of prison the second time, I travelled to divers parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. My dear friend and brother Richard Clayton, was with me at some meetings in Norfolk; and there was an honest minded people enquiring after the Lord, and his living Truth, whose hearts He had prepared to receive it. And I well remember in what manner the Lord opened my heart, and enlarged me in Gospel testimony toward those people; it was to the universal love and Grace of God, the Light of Christ in every man, to turn their minds thereunto, therein to wait to know God's teachings, and to come into the New Covenant Dispensation, wherein all the Lord's people are taught of him, and know Him, even from the least unto the greatest, and witness his law written in their hearts, and his Spirit in their inward parts, according to his blessed promises, and this his New and Everlasting Covenant, as prophesied of by the holy evangelical prophets.

In this New Covenant, not only the house of Israel and Judah may be partakers of Christ, but all truly believing gentiles also, to whom Christ is given for a light and for a covenant, and to be God's salvation to the ends of the earth; for God is not only the God of the Jews, but of the gentiles also; and they are the true Jews and Israel, who are spiritually such: Jews inward, by the spiritual circumcision of the heart unto the Lord by his Holy Spirit.

And in order to come under this New Covenant Dispensation and ministry, and therein to know and ex-

perience Christ to be their Minister, their Teacher, their High Priest, and Prophet, the people before mentioned were persuaded to cease from man, and from all their ministers and priests, made by the will of man; who preached for filthy lucre and gain, making a trade of the Holy Scriptures; adding their own divinations, meanings, and notions thereunto; having no commission given them to preach, and making a trade of the words and testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus, or his apostles; but walking contrary to their steps and practices, in pride and covetousness.

The Lord often laid a pressure upon me and others of his servants, to testify against the pride and covetousness of the priests, and their preaching for hire, for tithes, and forced maintenance, contrary to Christ's command, and his ministers' example; for which cause they were the more envious against us; and in their pulpits exclaimed, and made a great noise to incense the people and magistrates against the Quakers, so called, even under severe persecution and imprisonment; and the greater necessity was laid upon me, and others of the Lord's servants, to testify against those envious priests, sometimes even in their public places, improperly called churches, to undeceive the people, that they might not still be led captive.

It is still a matter to me very memorable, that by preaching livingly the Light, the New Covenant, the Word nigh to people in their hearts, yea, the Gospel of the free Grace and love of God in Christ to mankind; many were really and effectually convinced and persuaded of the blessed ever living Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, &c. where the Lord led me early to travel, and helped and prospered me in his service; blessed and praised be his Name for ever!

When I was at Mendlesham meeting, at Robert Duncan's, A. D. 1655, George Fox the younger, a Suffolk man, was effectually convinced, and received the

Truth, being then lately come out of the parliament's army in Scotland.

One remarkable passage, and the consequences thereof, I may not omit: the aforesaid John Lawrence (*see page* 52) had been a member of an Independant congregation, and because he left them and received us and our friends, their pastor, one Timothy Armitage, and the elders called him in question, and were minded to excommunicate him.

The same year 1655, he was summoned to their meeting in Norwich, at the parish church called George's of Tomland; and I went with him thither, and Edmund Bedwell, who had not then left off his sword, or falchion; which I blamed him for, thinking they would take occasion against him and us for it, as some of them did afterward. There was a great concourse of people, men and women met together, with their pastor and elders, and they repeated their charge against John Lawrence, to this purpose, viz. His forsaking their church or communion; his entertaining strangers, or persons dangerous, or holding dangerous doctrines, &c. But I could not perceive any matter of fact they could prove against him of any error, or dangerous consequence; what they insinuated against him, appeared to be without proof, or colour thereof.

Then he was to give his reasons why he left them or their church, whereof he had been a member; to which he answered according to the apostle Paul's doctrine, 2 *Tim.* iii. to turn away from such as have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof; namely, such as are proud, heady, high minded, and covetous, though they may have a form or profession of godliness, yet denying the power thereof, from such we are to turn away, &c. And the said John Lawrence applying this to them who then went about to excommunicate him, gave the same for his reason why he turned away from them; though they had a form or profession of godliness, yet they denied the power thereof; and therefore he might justly turn away from them, &c.

After which, in the fear and dread of the Lord, I stood up to declare a few words among them, but they quickly pulled me down, and by force held me down in the pew where we were; and some of their proud women that were near us, expressed their rage and envy against me in particular; and some of their church forcibly haled and pushed me out of the steeple-house, and exposed me to a rude multitude, who stood ready to lay violent hands on me; and they pushed and haled me away through the streets and market place of the city, sometimes throwing me down upon the stones, whereby I was bruised; though the hurt I got thereby, the Lord was pleased to remove in a short time. They followed and encompassed me, pushing me along, roaring and shouting, until I came near to the city gate, called Giles's gate, next to a little pasture ground; at the upper end whereof I saw a great house, where the Lady Hubbard dwelt; upon the sight whereof I was in a great strait, and at a stand in my mind, the tumult being great about me, whether I should then go out of the city in order to go toward Wramplingham, to John Lawrence's, or whether I should turn up toward the said great house, desiring the Lord to direct me at that instant. Hereupon I considered that if I should then turn out of the city into the high way, toward Wramplingham, I might be in danger to lose my life by that violent, tumultous company that were then about me; and it would be the less regarded, or taken notice of; and therefore if I must lose my life, it would be better to die where my testimony was to be borne within the city of Norwich, and where my persecution was begun, rather than by the tumult without the city, or abroad in the field; for I was given up to suffer what violence the Lord might permit them to do unto me.

On which consideration I immediately turned up to Lady Hubbard's, the tumultous, raging company continuing still about me; by whose shouting the lady's chaplain, Dr. Collins, as he was afterwards termed, and

most of the family, came out too see and hear what was the matter of such a great noise, and why such a mob came before the house; and they beheld me that I was the person beset and persecuted.

The chaplain understanding what I was, undertook to discourse with me, first by way of interrogation, concerning the same spirit which the apostles of Christ had; if I had the same spirit? I owned that in measure I partook of the same Spirit, though I would not equalize my degree of attainment to theirs. Then if I had that spirit, the chaplain would have me demonstrate or prove it, by some sign or miracle, as the apostles did. Or, if I could speak with tongues by a gift of the Spirit, and not by acquirement, as by human learning. I answered him, according to the apostle Paul's words in that case, 1 *Cor.* xii. speaking of the diversities of gifts, given by one and the same spirit, I told him, all who had the spirit of Christ, had not all those gifts, as that of tongues and miracles, for "to one is given the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another faith; to another working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another interpretation of tongues: yet all by the same Spirit," the Spirit and power of Christ.

It is evident that these gifts of tongues and miracles, &c. were not common to all who had the Spirit of Christ, in the primitive church, but peculiar to some, as these questions import, viz. "Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? &c. 1 *Cor.* xii. 29, 30. implying that all the ministers and members of the church were not so gifted in all these respects, though they all had one and the same Spirit, from whence these gifts came. And I may have the word of wisdom, knowledge, and faith, by the same spirit, and yet not the gift of tongues and miracles. It no ways follows that none have the spirit, but they who have those gifts. I then clearly saw the chaplain's way of reasoning in this case would not hold.

When he perceived how tumultous and rude the company about had been against me, he questioned why I did not quiet or quell them, or supposed I might, if I had the same Spirit or power, the apostles had. I answered him, that the apostle Paul himself desired the church of the Thessalonians to pray for him, that the Lord would deliver him out of the hands of unreasonable men, for all have not faith. He was therefore sometimes in the hands of unreasonable men, when in tumults; and the Lord delivered him out of their hands. While we discoursed, my persecutors stood silent, as in a ring, and heard us, on the subjects before related; our discourse held but a little while, I suppose about half an hour.

In the mean time came a soldier or trooper, with his sword by his side, and perceiving me to be the person persecuted and watched by that rude company, as I withdrew he came to me, and said, he would go along with me, and guard me to my quarters, or lodgings; and laying his hand upon his sword, commanded the mob to stand off, to make way. So I was quietly rescued, and he went along with me to my dear friend Thomas Symond's house in the city.

I saw it was of the Lord that I was put in mind to draw toward that house, the Lady Hubbard's, when I was in such a strait in the tumult as before related; and that a stranger should be at last stirred up to rescue me out of the hands of such unreasonable men, as had beset and abused me with violence. I have often been thankful to God for his merciful Providence in that deliverance.

The said soldier who took such care to rescue me, afterward came into society with the people called Quakers, wherein the Lord showed mercy to him; his name was Robert Turner, of Lynn. I knew not that he was the man that rescued me till twenty-five years after, when I was again prisoner in Norwich castle, with many more Friends, in the year 1680.

In those days, prisons and gaols were made sanctua-

ries, and places of refuge and safety to us, from the fury of the tumultuous mob; although we met with but hard usage in those places of severe confinement, many times among notorious criminals; and although I suffered both in tumults and imprisonments, by hard usage in them, the Lord helped and sustained me by his Divine power and goodness, so that I was not weary of his service, nor my spirit faint in my sufferings. The grateful remembrance of his goodness, and lively sense of his love to my soul in those days, still live and remain upon my spirit; praised be our God for ever and evermore!

My dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, being longer detained prisoner at Norwich castle than I was in the city prison, in the year 1654–5, I wanted a suitable companion to travel with me, in the work of the Gospel ministry in those parts; except, as before related, Richard Clayton travelled with me in some parts of Norfolk; and Thomas Bond was with me for a short space at some few meetings, where I had laboured in the Lord's work and service.

The Lord did greatly assist me, and gave me living encouragement and comfort when I was much alone, in his work and service; and I was the more comforted and animated in spirit by his divine power and presence, in feeling and perceiving his blessed work to prosper, and the truth of the Gospel of Christ take effect upon the hearts and spirits of many, both old and young; opening their understandings, convincing them and converting them to Christ the true light, and turning many from darkness, and the works thereof, to know his divine power to make them his dear children and people; as many were in those early days. And how diligent were many in those days, in going many miles to Friends' meetings, both ancient and young, men and women, maidens and children! What love, what brokenness and tenderness, would be and appear in meetings in those days of their first love and espousals! wherein many were espoused unto Christ Jesus, in his

light, life, and Spirit, and many of those loving and tender Friends, who were of the first fruits among us, continued and ended their days.

After Richard Hubberthorn was delivered out of Norwich castle, we had some comfortable meetings together in Norfolk, in the work and fellowship of the Gospel of Christ Jesus; and particularly at Pulham, at William Grudfield's, who was an ancient, honest-hearted man, and received the truth and Friends in much love and tenderness: and also at Matthew Elmy's, at Margret's of Ilkisson, in the nine parishes, not far from Beccles. He and his wife and family received the love of the truth, and were very honest, loving people.

On that side the country, were gathered a few Friends who were truly convinced and turned to the Lord, his light and Spirit in their hearts; among whom was William Bennet, whom the Lord endued with his heavenly gift, so as he became a living minister of the Gospel of Life and salvation, being also of an innocent and holy conversation; and afterward for his faithful testimony, he was a great sufferer in Edmunds-Bury gaol.

The said Richard Hubberthorn and I also had a considerable public meeting at Beccles, in a yard or orchard, where several sorts of professing people came; some of them opposed, others questioned our testimony concerning the Light of Christ in men, or, His enlightening every man that cometh into the world. Our doctrine of the Light within, was chiefly questioned and stumbled at in those times, even by many great professors and teachers, as if it had been some new doctrine; though it be both as ancient and scriptural as any other Divinity, taught by the holy prophets or ministers of God or Christ.

Among the opposers and questioners of our doctrine of the Light, at our said meeting at Beccles, was one Richard Townsend, who behaved himself more mildly than some of the company, seeming to be more upon the enquiry than any way prepossessed with prejudice.

Though he stumbled about the Light; yet upon our demonstrating the truth thereof, and how the Light shows to man and reproves him for sin, and would instruct him to repentance, and lead him out of sin and evil, if obeyed and followed; and that when the Gospel is truly and livingly preached to men, this Light in them answers, and beareth witness thereunto, and convinceth them of the truth of what is preached, and declared in the demonstration of the Spirit; and are made capable truly to receive what is so preached and testified unto them, which otherwise they could not by their mere natural capacities. On this wise, or to this effect, the Light within and the doctrine of the Light, being argued for on our parts, the said Richard Townsend confessed, that there is an echo in men's consciences, answering to the ministry of the Gospel; and this echo he somewhat insisted upon, but could not absolutely deny the Principle of Light in men, being spiritual.

Howbeit, after our discourse with him, with our Christian instructions then given, he took these things into farther and deeper consideration, insomuch that Truth took such place in him and bore such weight, that, some time after, he came into society with our Friends, not only to profess the Truth he had questioned, but also to bear witness thereunto in conversation and public testimony.

In the former part of the summer, in the year 1655, I had a very remarkable, and indeed memorable meeting, in High-Suffolk, at Charsfield, a few miles from Woodbridge, where George Fox the younger then lived with his father; and it was the first meeting of Friends that was on that side of the country, and the largest that I had had before in High-Suffolk: I had no companion then in the ministry with me, but some Friends from Mendlesham side. Unto that meeting there was a very great resort of people about the country of divers sorts; and the Lord having prepared the hearts of

many of them, to seek after and receive the Truth, they came with good intentions and desires.

We had the meeting in an orchard or yard; it began before mid-day, and I had a stool to stand upon. After I had waited upon the Lord a little space, for his Power to arise, and give me strength to stand up in testimony, the people being in great expectation to hear and observe what might be declared, the Lord was graciously pleased to give me strength and ability in his Name, to bear a living and faithful testimony according to the openings and discoveries given me by his Free Spirit, and the ability and gift received of him to preach the everlasting Gospel, in the Name and Power of our Lord Jesus Christ; and agreeable also to the Scriptures of Truth, the testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus, and his apostles. I was wonderfully assisted and enlarged in my testimony for Him and his blessed Gospel Truth, insomuch that I was enabled to stand upon the stool, though slippery, near five hours that day, preaching the Truth, and opening those things which concerned the kingdom of Christ and of God, and men's everlasting salvation. And many were that day livingly touched in their hearts, and effectually convinced in their consciences of the Truth then sincerely and livingly declared unto them in the power and demonstration of the Holy Spirit.

After I had declared for some time, one John Burch, a preacher among the Baptists, appeared to make some objections about the ordinances, as water baptism, &c. and also about the coming of Christ in person. I being called unto a spiritual ministry, in order to bring people out of shadows to the substance, and to know Christ in Spirit, and not after the flesh, nor to rest only in a literal knowledge of Christ, but that they might know him livingly and inwardly after the Spirit; I gave answer to him, in the spirit of meekness, for his better information, and instruction in the way of God more perfectly than either John's Baptism, outward shadows, or mere literal knowledge could bring any one to.

In a little time John was silent, and seemed somewhat satisfied, and after farther and serious consideration, came to receive the Truth in an inward sight and sense of the power thereof, insomuch that he laid down his former preaching and profession, and became willing to wait upon the Lord among Friends in silence. And after some years, he was raised up to bear testimony to the Light, the Spirit, and Power of Christ Jesus; and so came to be a minister thereof, in order to bring people into the knowledge of Christ and his spiritual baptism in them. In his ministry, the said John Burch was very serviceable, especially in his latter days: he kept in the faith of Christ; and in love and unity ended his days in peace.

But to return to the said remarkable and memorable meeting; in the latter part thereof, came several noted priests, who were pastors and teachers among the people called Independents, as Francis Woodell, and one ——— Habergham, with some others, and made some objections and questionings; both the people and John Burch and company being very attentive, and observing to see what work they would make of it against us.

They came wrongfully prepossessed and prejudiced against us, that we denied the Holy Scriptures, Christ, his ordinances, church and ministry. But in a little discourse with them, I perceived they were to seek, being ignorant of our Christian principles and doctrine; but what they had conceived against us, seemed chiefly to proceed from the false and injurious reports of our adversaries, whereby we had been rendered so monstrous, so anti-christian, and anti-scriptural, in religion and profession, that they thought they might easily deal with us, and run us down: but such sort of prejudging, and condemning people, caused those opposers, and many others, to go but lamely to work against us; and the clearness of our Christian confessions and scriptural vindications, has many times put a damp upon their spirits when they have come upon trial face to face; as it appeared at that time with the said Inde-

pendent ministers; and as I have known in many disputes which I have been concerned in, with opposers and adversaries, how quickly they have been quashed, when they have appeared against us from false reports, and the authorities of envious adversaries; which they who are credulous of, will gain no credit by, especially when they will judge or condemn others upon such reports and misrepresentations: for this I have often observed in religious controversies or disputes, my opponent could give me no greater advantage against him, than by making use of false reports, or authorities of malicious persons, or their books; or by his being given to passion, anger, or fury, which blind men's minds, and cloud their reason and understandings.

But the aforesaid ministers, however prepossessed, carried themselves tolerably moderate towards me and our Friends, at the said meeting; and after they were clearly and plainly answered, and their expectations of getting any advantage against us or our doctrine frustrated, they departed; and the Truth greatly gained ground that day, and at that meeting; and many were truly convinced, and their hearts turned to God, his Grace, and Truth.

That was the first and foundation-meeting which we had on that side of High-Suffolk, and which ever since has continued in those parts; as after that, for a long time at Dalingho, at Robert Mann's; at John Bennet's, at Bradfield; and at William Fiddeman's, and sometimes at Arthur Goddard's, all on that side the country, a few miles from Woodbridge. These were honest, loving Friends, who thus early received the blessed Truth and Friends, and meetings at their houses, and continued so to the end of their days; some years after the meeting was settled at Woodbridge.

A little while after the said meeting, Richard Hubberthorn met me in High-Suffolk, and we had a good, large, and quiet meeting, at the same place, to which came some of the said ministers, and other professors; we met with no great opposition from them, there be-

ing some more moderately inquisitive than others; besides they could not tell what to make of the Light within, or immortal Seed in man, or our doctrine thereof, though scriptural; yet in those days, those professing Independent ministers were in high esteem, being paramount, and divers of them parish priests.

Things then were quietly managed to the end of the meeting, and the Truth still gained ground; and many grew weary of the priests, and more and more left them and their formal worship, and resorted to our meeting, both in that county and in Norfolk; and many meetings of our Friends came to be settled in those places.

After considerable labour and service in testimony for the Truth and Gospel of Christ Jesus, in the years 1654 and 1655, besides the imprisonment in Norwich before related, my dear friend Richard Clayton and I meeting again in High Suffolk, in the 5th month, 1655, travelled together to Colchester; where James Parnel, that early servant of Christ, was prisoner in the castle, he being committed but a little time before we visited him in prison. He was given up to suffer for his faithful testimony, was comforted in our visit; and we were glad to see him so well. So we travelled forward on the road toward London, being desirous to see our brethren and friends in that city, if the Lord had permitted. We went that day from the White Elm near Ipswich, to near Chelmsford on foot, being nearly forty miles; and in the road, meeting with our dear friend and brother George Fox, and Amos Stoddard, coming from London into Essex, were very glad to see them; insomuch that our desires of going forward were in part answered for that time; and we were willing to stay with them at some meetings in Essex; which we did, as at Great Coggeshall and Lexden near Colchester, where George Fox gave large testimony to the Truth of Christ, and against the world's corruptions.

On the first-day of the week following, being the 29th day of the 5th month, 1655, I had a very good meeting

at South-Halsted, in John Isaac's barn, Richard Clayton being with me; and John Harwood a Yorkshire man, having met us in Essex, was minded to travel a little with us. At that meeting the Lord greatly enlarged my heart, in his Gospel testimony toward that people; for the hearts of many of them were well-disposed and inclined toward God and his blessed Truth: and he, by his invisible power, had opened a door of entrance among them, as well as a door of utterance unto them. James Parnel had been instrumental to convince divers in those parts that summer, before his imprisonmont at Colchester; and by his testimony and living ministry, divers professors were shaken, and at a loss in their professions and notions which they had gathered in their heads, without experience of a true heart work by the power of Christ: for profession and talk of religion and church, did greatly abound in those days, as well as pride and self-conceit, which the Lord was about to stain and abase, as he manifestly did in a short time after; for those summer shows of religion would not endure a stormy winter.

I must confess to the glory of God in my own self-abasement, and his bearing sway over my will and affections, by his own power, wisdom, and providence, I was at that time prevented from going to London, to visit my brethren and friends there, according to my own desire and affection; the Lord having then more work and service, as well as suffering for me to go through in the country, and particularly in the county of Suffolk, before I might obtain my desire of going to London: having had blessed and effectual service, by the special assistance of the Lord's power in Norfolk and in High-Suffolk, I must now be a sufferer in Low-Suffolk, and bear my testimony for Him, in a hard confinement and inhuman treatment in prison; for in those days among the exercises which befel many of us, whom the Lord so early called, and sent forth to preach the Gospel of repentance unto life and salvation, we were

led one while to run to and fro, that knowledge might increase among people, in the ways and dealings of the Lord; another while suddenly were permitted to be taken and imprisoned, strictly confined, and severely used; as the subsequent accounts may in part show, and also what manner of spirit did rule in and influence some sorts of men, under high professions, and great pretensions of religion and Christianity; and how unchristian they were in practice.

SECTION IV.

G. W. and others imprisoned in Edmunds-Bury gaol—released by order from the Protector—Visits London, and returns into Essex and Suffolk—Cruelly whipped at Nayland, when not 21 years of age—Travels afterwards in Essex, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire till the middle of the year 1657.

Of the severe imprisonment referred to it the preceding chapter, the author has given a very minute account, the substance of which will be found in the following summary.

Richard Clayton and John Harwood appear to have accompanied George Whitehead into Suffolk; and in passing through the town of Bures, Richard Clayton thought it his duty to affix a paper upon the steeple-house door, on which several passages of Scripture were written, to show "the evil fruits, covetousness, and corruption of false teachers and leaders." His companions passed on a little way whilst he was putting up the paper; but observing that some people were collected about him, they returned, and exhorted them "to fear God and turn from the evil of their ways."

Whilst they were speaking, a constable of the place arrived, who took George Whitehead and John Harwood before a justice of the peace. He, though unable to show any law which they had broken, committed them to Edmunds-Bury gaol, to take their trial at the sessions. Richard Clayton was taken before the same magistrate, who ordered him to be whipped in the town, and sent out of it with a pass; which was accordingly done.

After laying between two and three months in gaol the session arrived, when George Whitehead and John

Harwood were tried as common disturbers of the peace. In the commitment, George Whitehead had been described as an idle wandering fellow from Orton in Cumberland; but the indictment was preferred against George Whitehead and John Harwood as labourers of Bures; and they were accused of having several times disturbed the magistrates and ministers; and with having been several days and times at Bures before they were taken prisoners. But neither the obvious error in the description of the prisoners, nor the entire want of proof of the charge, could avail any thing in their favour.

They were scarcely permitted to speak; and the justice who committed them and who was on the bench, acted as an accuser, and threatened the gaoler to fine him forty shillings, if he did not silence them when they attempted to answer the charges brought against them. The jury complied with the wishes of the magistrates, and brought in a verdict that they were guilty according to the manner and form of the indictment; and they were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty nobles each.

As they would have considered the payment of this fine an acknowledgment of guilt, they refused the payment of it and were returned to their prison, where they continued twelve months, and endured, as we shall afterwards find, extreme privations and sufferings.

As one of the magistrates was passing out of the session-house, he was met by a young man of the name of George Fox, who had recently been convinced of Friends' principles, and who had witnessed the flagrant injustice on the part of the magistrates. Addressing himself to the individual who was now passing him, he warned him to repent of his unjust conduct that day, adding, that "if he did not, he could not escape the just judgments of God." The justice immediately took hold of him, and causing him to be haled before the bench, accused him and said he should go to prison, unless he would find securities to appear at the next

sessions; though he showed no law which George Fox had transgressed.

To prison he was accordingly sent; and there with his friends partook of the same hardships in the common gaol for above twelve months; for though at the ensuing sessions, no indictment was preferred against him, he was nevertheless remanded to prison to be left there unless he could find sureties for his appearance at the following sessions; and when these arrived, although no accuser appeared against him, he was still detained in prison.

"So arbitrary against us," says George Whitehead, "were our persecutors in their proceedings; though professors both of Christian religion and justice, and professing to act in the name and behalf of the Lord Protector."

Their resolute opposition to whatever they deemed to be wrong, made the early Friends no less obnoxious to the keepers of prisons than to the magistrates who committed them. Against vice and extortion in every form they held forth a bold and patient testimony. Prisons were then in a very wretched state; and with every alleviation, confinement in them was a severe punishment; but it was very highly aggravated by the treatment which our early Friends generally met with.

Of this the treatment of George Whitehead and his companions in Edmunds-Bury gaol, affords a striking example.

"After two of us," says he, "were first sent to prison, we had a lodging in an upper room for about two or three weeks, and then understanding that the gaoler would exact upon us for rent, and expecting our confinement might be of long continuance, we desired a free prison, whereupon we were turned into the common ward among felons; where, after continuance a few weeks, Samuel Duncan in compassion to us, privately gave the gaoler some money to let us lodge from

the felons. But when the time for that money was ended, the gaoler insisted upon his old exaction of fourpence a night from each of us, which we were neither free to yield to, nor to suffer any of our friends to be charged with; but again desired a free prison: and thereupon we were again turned into the common ward. In the interim, whilst we lodged above, two notorious robbers, who were of that company that had robbed Sir George Wyninif's house, and were condemned at the assizes before, broke prison, and made their escape, leaving their irons and shackles behind them; so that we were glad we were not present in the common ward at the time, for they were desperate fellows, and made their escape for their lives. We esteemed it a providence, that the said Friend had for that little time procured our lodging apart from the felons.

"Although we were now settled in the common ward among felons, in a low dungeon-like place, under a market-house, our poor lodging being upon rye straw, on a damp earthen floor, we were therewith content, and the place was sanctified to us. But not being willing to contribute to the gaoler's extortion, nor free to buy any of his beer, (he keeping a taphouse, and divers of his prisoners often drunk,) his anger and rage grew very much against us, after we were so many as five sent to prison successively one after another, and all in the common ward, drinking only water.

"That which he appeared most enraged against us for, was because we frequently testified and cried against, the foul and horrid sins of drunkenness, swearing, and other disorders and abuses among the prisoners; and which the gaoler's servants occasioned, by his suffering their excessive drinking of strong beer for his ungodly gain.

"But the Lord stirred us up the more zealously to cry aloud against the wickedness of the gaoler, his servants, and the prisoners, for these gross evils; because the gaoler made a profession of religion and piety, calling in the prisoners on first days, towards evening, to

instruct them, and exercise his sort of devotion among them. And because I told him of his hypocrisy therein, his fruits being so very contrary, his daughter was offended, saying: 'What! call my father a hypocrite, who has been a saint forty years?'

"Many times hath the said gaoler shamefully abused us both in words and actions, whereby his servants, his tapster and turnkey, and some of his drunken prisoners, took the greater encouragement to follow his example; for his tapster hath often grossly abused us, both by words, furious attempts, and violent actions.

"The said tapster not only threatened us, but cast a stone violently, whereby he hit one, and in his rage took up a stool to have cast at some of us, but was prevented by one present taking hold of it; and not only so, but was often slandering and beating some of us on the faces, and also violently buffetting with his fists, for no other cause, but reprehending his and their wickedness, disorders and abuses.

"Some of the prisoners also have often abused us, by taking away our food; alleging the gaoler gave them leave so to do, and thereby taking occasion to do us mischief; several times beating some of us, stoning, despitefully using us, threatening to kill, and to knock some of us on the head.

"One said: 'If he did kill us, he should not be hanged for it; and that there was no law for us if he did kill us;' and being drunk with the gaoler's strong beer, he kicked and wounded some of us on the legs, and greatly abused us, knowing it was against our principle and practice to fight or beat him again; which we could easily have done, and the rest of the gaoler's drunkards that abused us, if our principle would have allowed, being five of us, mostly able and lively young men; but we esteemed it greater valour, and more Christian, patiently to suffer such injuries for Christ, than to fight for Him, or avenge ourselves; and rather, when smitten on one cheek, to turn the other, than to smite again. The said drunken prisoner who had so

abused us, when he was a little sober, confessed, that the gaoler made him worse than he would have been against us.

"But by such inhuman usage, the gaoler could not force our compliance with his covetous designs or corrupt practices."

Very frequently were the prisoners struck with such violence by the gaoler or his agents, that the blood gushed from their mouths and noses; and after they had been more than thirty weeks in prison, the gaoler demanded of them fourteen pence a week each for their accommodation, although on their demanding a free prison, soon after they came in, he had taken away their bed clothes, their boxes in which they had food, linen, and other things, and even their night caps, and had left them nothing but straw to lie upon. As the prisoners would not comply with the unjust demands of the gaoler, he became still more enraged against them; and they continuing to testify against the drunkenness and other vices which he suffered and indeed promoted, to secure his own interest,* he threatened to lock them up in a low nasty room; and soon after did put four of the prisoners, of whom George Whitehead was one, into this place. There was also in a part of the prison a dismal dungeon, into which with two of his companions he was let down by a ladder. The place was about four yards deep under ground, very dark, and but little compass at the bottom; and in the midst was an iron grate with bars above a foot distance, extending over a pit or hole, they knew not how deep; "but being warned thereof," says the author, by a woman, who saw us put down and pitied us, we kept near the sides of the dungeon that we might not fall into the

* It was the general practice at this time for the gaoler to sell ale, wine and spirits; and to derive from this trade a great part of his emolument. An act of parliament in the 24th year of Geo. II. prohibited this practice.

pit; and there we were detained nearly four hours, singing praises to the Lord our God in the sweet enjoyment and living sense of his glorious presence; being nothing terrified or dismayed at their cruelties; but cheerfully resigned in the will of the Lord to suffer for his name and Truth's sake, if they had left us to perish in that dark, dismal, and stinking dungeon.

"Upon the same day that we were in the dungeon, several of our friends came to visit us from Norwich, Colchester, and other places; but were not suffered to come to us;—and divers other times we have been thus dealt with; and not only so, but when they have come to the prison door or window, they have had water cast upon them, by some of the gaoler's company; he pretending that he had orders from the justices, that none of our friends should come to us: nevertheless both he and his wife told them, that if they would pay the key-turner six-pence, or four-pence a piece, he would let them come to us; but they refused to gratify his covetousness."

At length however, through the medium of the Friends in London, an account of the sufferings of the prisoners was laid before the Protector; and, in consequence, an order was given to have the matters complained of inquired into. The examination was conducted by some neighbouring justices, one of whom showed a decided inclination to the gaoler's cause; and though the principal charges were proved, yet this justice was disposed to extenuate the conduct of the gaoler, on the ground of their having reproved him for his cruelty. Some of the justices, however, did not hesitate to blame the gaoler's conduct, and warned him not to suffer his servants to abuse the prisoners; as if they did so, they would send his servants to Ipswich gaol. They also commended George Whitehead's moderation on the occasion.

The exposure of the gaoler's cruelty in these examinations, though it did not lead to their release, had a

considerable influence upon their treatment during the remainder of their confinement; and their friends in London, made frequent application to Oliver Cromwell for their liberation. He was particularly applied to by a waiting gentlewoman in his family, of the name of Mary Sanders.* She was a Friend, and often availed herself of opportunities to remind the Protector of the suffering situation of the Friends in prison. At length, after George Whitehead had been fifteen months a prisoner, an order was made by the Protector and council, for the release of the Quakers imprisoned at Colchester, Edmunds-Bury, and Ipswich; and it was referred to Sir Francis Russell to see to the execution of the order. Sir Francis appears to have performed his task with alacrity; and George Whitehead says:

"In kindness to us he gave us an order or warrant to produce in our defence, if there should be occasion; that we might travel without interruption, not confining us to go to our respective homes. He was a considerate tender spirited man, and shewed compassion towards us and our Friends who were sufferers for conscience' sake.

George Whitehead considered Sir Francis Russell to be decidedly against persecution; and going near his residence in the year 1659, he called upon him; and was entertained with religious and friendly discourse, in the course of which Sir Francis intimated, that he had been very adverse to the severity James Naylor had met with, when prosecuted before the parliament in 1656.

George Whitehead was now once more at liberty to visit his friends, and exercise himself in the vocation of a Christian minister. But before we pursue the course of his narrative, we must not omit the commem-

* This person, and some other members of the Protector's family, were convinced of the principles of Friends, in a visit paid to him by Francis Howgill.

oration which he makes of the Lord's mercies, to himself and his fellow prisoners, during their severe imprisonment in Bury gaol.

"I am, says he, "truly and humbly thankful to the Lord our God, in remembrance of his great kindness to us; how wonderfully he supported and comforted us, through and over all our tribulations, strait confinement, and ill usage; and preserved us in bodily health, in the comfortable enjoyment of his glorious Divine Power and Presence, several of us have often been made to sing aloud in praise to his glorious Name; yea, his high praises have been in our mouths oftentimes, to the great amazement and astonishment of the malefactors shut up in the same ward with us. When walking therein, our hearts have been lifted up in living praise to the Lord, often for several hours together, with voices of melody. O! the sweet presence and power of the Lord our God! how precious to be enjoyed in prisons, and dungeons, and strait confinements! O! my soul! bless thou the Lord and for ever praise his excellent name, for the true inward sense and experience thou hast often and long had, and still hast of his Divine Power, and unspeakable goodness! Glory and dominion be to our God, and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, for ever and ever! Let the praise be unto Him, in whom is our help, salvation, and strength!

"Although we were confined to a noisome common ward, and strait stinking yard, yet the Lord by his power so sanctified the confinement to me, that I had great peace, comfort, and sweet solace, and was sometimes transported and wrapt up in spirit, as if in a pleasant field, having the fragrant scent, and sweet smell of flowers and things growing therein, though I was not in an ecstacy or trance, my senses being affected therewith; so that the Lord made bitter things sweet unto me, and hardships easy; although we were sensible our persecutors and oppressors were so cruel toward us, that they cared not if we had all perished in that gaol. But our trust and confidence was in the

name of the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength and safety: to whom be everlasting glory, dominion, and praise, world without end!

"I humbly hope and trust in the Lord, I shall never forget his loving-kindness and mercy shown unto me, in those cloudy days of distress and affliction."

We shall now pursue, with but little curtailment, George Whitehead's own narrative.

"Before the winter in 1656 was ended, the Lord gave me an opportunity to visit Friends at London, of which before my imprisonment at Edmunds-Bury, I was prevented. That visit was very acceptable to Friends there, and I had very good service in and through the meetings, in the ministry and demonstration of the Holy Spirit and Truth of Christ; and divers were convinced thereby, while I was among them, which was not long; but I was concerned to return into Essex, Suffolk, &c. And having visited meetings at Colchester, Coggeshall, and other parts of Essex, as in Denge Hundred, and divers parts of the county, and also at Sudbury, and Haverhill, and other places in Suffolk.

"A concern fell upon me to have a meeting at Saffron-Walden, where I had a considerably large and good meeting; though toward the conclusion, some professors made a little opposition, but were soon answered and silenced. Yet notwithstanding I and some Friends of Essex being at an inn that evening, and at supper in came the bailiff of the town with a constable or some officer, and others with them, and caused me to be taken away, set in the stocks, and there kept for some time in the night, before they let me out; and this without any law, or any crime laid to my charge, but only out of a peevish humour, and their own envious wills, and to cast causeless contempt upon me and my friends. I wrote to the bailiff next morning, to know if he had any matter of fact against me, or any more to say to me; but he gave me no answer, so I

went away thence quietly to Cambridge, and parts adjacent, and visited meetings in the love of God to and fro, in the counties; taking a circuit until I returned into Essex, to Colchester, &c.

"I had a meeting at Nayland in Suffolk, not far from Colchester, where the common people were so rude, that they would not suffer the meeting to be quiet within doors, but were ready in appearance, to pull down the house, which was but small; whereupon we drew out the meeting into a meadow ground, near the town's end on the Essex side. The meeting was large, and I had a good and full opportunity to declare and demonstrate the living Truth, with power and dominion given me of God; whose power was over all, and came so over the meeting, that it was quiet, though it was held for near three hours together, and the season somewhat cold.

"That morning before the meeting, the Friend of the house where it was appointed at Nayland, came to me weeping, and under trouble, poor man! because some wicked fellows of the town had threatened to kill me, if I had a meeting there. I pitied the man, for that he had let in such fears from their cruel threats, and told him, I did not fear them; I was given up in the will of God, in whose hands my life was, and they should do no more than he permitted them; and I doubted not but the Lord would restrain them; and their envy and wicked purposes; and I would not disappoint the said meeting, nor alter the appointment thereof. So I encouraged the poor Friend against his fears; and the Lord appeared for me both in his service, and in my own and friend's preservation, by his divine power; that giving us dominion, and a quiet meeting, as before related. Let the dominion, glory and praise, be ascribed and returned to him for ever!

"After a few weeks the Lord again laid a concern upon me to have another meeting at Nayland aforesaid, which accordingly was appointed at the same Friend's house where the first was. But this second meeting

was held in his yard or little orchard, unto which divers Friends of Colchester, and other places in Essex and Suffolk came. After we had for some time waited upon the Lord in silence, I was moved to stand up on a stool, and preach the everlasting Gospel, and to testify against sin and wickedness, against the beast and false prophet, against the devil's persecuting power and ministry, &c. After I had for a considerable time declared the truth in the meeting, a person, a pretended gentleman, came rushing in with a constable and rude company, and with violence pulled me down; and some of them, with the constable, had me to Assington, to our old adversary, John Gurden, who presently began to threaten me. I desired his moderation to hear me before he passed judgment: 'You are a moderate rogue,' said he. 'Moderate rogue!' said I, 'such language doth not become a justice of peace, especially one professing christianity.' He in a great fury highly threatened me, by which I apprehended he then designed to lay me fast in gaol again, as he had caused several of us deeply to suffer: after his angry threats, he returned into his parlour, where his son and the priest of the parish were to consult.

"In the interim I sat in his hall, waiting upon the Lord, and some Friends with me; and then I secretly breathed in spirit, that if it might stand with his will, he would not then permit that persecutor to send me to Bury gaol, where I and others had so lately, and for a long time deeply suffered; for his malice ended not in that hard imprisonment of ours. Whereupon the Lord was pleased to answer my desire, and immediately to show me that he should not send me to prison, but cause me to suffer by stripes; whereupon I was greatly refreshed, strengthened, and given up in the will of the Lord, patiently to endure that punishment, the invidious persecutor was permitted to inflict upon me, it being for Christ's sake, and his Gospel truth; wherein I had great peace and strong consolation in Him for whose sake I suffered.

"Being soon called into the parlour before the said John Gurden, and his son Robert, I was examined by divers questions, as of my name, country, and reason of travelling abroad, &c. Unto which I gave particular answers, and plainly told him and those present, how God would overturn them, and take away their power who were persecutors and oppressors of his servants, or seed; and withal, that God would limit him, i. e. John Gurden, that he should not effect all his evil designs, or purposes. Whereupon deridingly he bid: 'Go, Quake.' I said: 'Dost thou then despise quaking?' He answered, 'Yes; I do despise quaking.' I said: 'Then thou despiseth that which the word of the Lord hath commanded.' 'How prove you that?' said he. 'Bring me a Bible,' said I: a Bible being there, I showed him *Ezekiel* xii. 17, 18. 'Moreover the word of the Lord came to me, saying: Son of man, eat thy bread with quaking, and drink thy water with trembling and with carefulness.' Whereupon he could not vindicate his despising quaking.

"His clerk took part of my examination in writing as he ordered him, which being read, John Gurden required me to sign it. I signified that it was deficient, or lamely taken: howbeit, he urged me to sign it. Then I took pen, and began to write my exception against the deficiency of the relation, intending to sign the same at the bottom; but John Gurden plucked the pen out of my hand, and said, I should write nothing but my name, which I positively refused; saying, if he would not suffer me to write my distinction, he ought not to impose upon me to sign a relation, which was but in part true.

"When thus treated, and being ordered to withdraw into the hall, John Gurden and his son directed the clerk to draw up a warrant, to have me severely whipped next day at Nayland; being the town where I was taken and haled out of the meeting. John Gurden came out to me into the hall, and highly threatened me again, having a law book in his hand, which I took to be Dalton's justice of peace, and there read some

abstract of an ancient statute, or law, against vagrants, sturdy beggars, idle and dissolute persons, loiterers, pedlars, tinkers, &c. with the penalties, &c. intimating to me, that they had ordered me to be whipped at Nayland; and if I came again into that country I should be branded in the shoulder for a rogue; but if I came the third time, I should be hanged. I answered: "I am no such person as thou hast mentioned; thou art an old man, and going to thy grave; thou dost not know how soon the Lord may put an end to thy days, and disappoint thee of thy evil designs against me: however I fear not thy threats; if the Lord whom I serve, require my return into these parts, I must obey Him.' 'I know I am an old man,' said he: 'aye,' said I, 'thou art old in iniquity; it is high time for thee to repent.'

"I was called to hear their warrant for my punishment read, and the constable to have his charge of execution given him, which being read, Robert Gurden charged the constable to see their warrant executed upon me to the purpose, at his peril. I told him I could expect no better from him, who falsely swore against Henry Marshall, an honest man, at the quarter-sessions, that he said Christ was a vagabond; whereupon Henry was wrongfully fined as a blasphemer, and kept in gaol with us at Edmunds-Bury, nigh twelve months; his words being most grossly perverted, quite contrary to what he said when taken prisoner; for being accused for a vagabond or vagrant, Henry told them that Cain was a vagabond, though he had a city upon earth; but Christ was no vagabond, though He had not whereon to lay his head. How contrary was this to the information given upon oath against him at the sessions!

"The warrant being signed and sealed by the father and the son, I was returned back to Nayland, in order to endure the execution thereof the next day. So that night I lodged at a public house, where I rested quietly in much peace.

A COPY OF THE WARRANT AND PASS.

To all constables, and all other officers whom it may concern, and to every of them.

'Be it remembered, that one George Whitehead, a young man about twenty years of age, who confesseth himself to have been born at Orton in Westmoreland, being this present day found vagrant and wandering at Nayland, in this county, contrary to the laws of this nation, and being thereupon brought before us, two justices of the peace for this county, is by us ordered to be openly whipped at Nayland aforesaid, till his body be bloody, as the law in such case enjoineth. And he is to pass thence from parish to parish, by the officers thereof, the next way to Orton aforesaid, before the first day of June now next ensuing. Dated at Assington, in this county of Suffolk, the first day of April, 1657.'

"The said warrant was the next day after its date, put in severe execution by a foolish fellow, whom the constable, &c. got to do it. When the constable had stripped me above the waist, which he could not persuade myself to do, but I let them act their own cruelty, the foolish fellow with a long sharp whip, laid on so violently, that thereby he cut and wounded both my back and breast with long stripes, tearing the skin and shedding blood, till some people present cried out to stop him; for there was a great number present, it being in a public place, like a market place, in the street; and many wept to see their cruelty; yet by the Lord's Power, I was enabled cheerfully to bear it all with patience, great comfort, and rejoicing, even in the very time of the execution; whereby many were amazed and smitten. How many stripes I had, I do not well know, but remember that the marks thereof were to be seen a long time after, both on my back and breast.

"It is also very memorable to me, how wonderfully the Lord, by his Divine Power, supported me, even at

that very instant, while they were inflicting their cruelty and punishment upon my body; that even then my spirit was raised, and my mouth opened to sing aloud in praises to the Lord, my God, for that He counted me worthy to suffer for his Name and Truth's sake.

"When the hand of the executioner was stayed from beating me, by the cry or call that was made to stop him, I told the people that it was a proof of a minister of Christ, patiently to endure afflictions, persecutions, stripes, and imprisonments, according as the holy apostle testifies: "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults," &c. as expressed more fully, in 2. *Cor.* ch. vi. And withal while I stood with my stripes and wounds naked before them, I told the officers concerned, that if they had any more to lay upon me, I was ready, and given up to suffer, it being in the cause of Christ, for conscience sake. I may not forget the wonderful power, aid, and comfort, which the Lord afforded me in that suffering condition.

"The said execution against me, and the solemnity attending it being over at Nayland, I took my horse, and was accompanied out of the town by the constable and others, towards Sudbury, to which town the officers with their said warrant and pass attended me.

"The next day I was passed away from constable to constable, through Clare and Haverhill, into the edge of Cambridgeshire. In Clare, when the warrant was produced to pass me forward, as ordered, several persons took great notice of me, and seeing me have a pretty good horse, and well habited, some said, this young man does not look like a vagrant.

"In the edge of Cambridgeshire, we met with a constable in the field, at the harrow, &c. And it being about nine miles to another constable, toward Cambridge, he thought it was too far for him to go with me. I said, he need not trouble himself, I knew what way to go; he then freely delivered me the warrant, it drawing toward night: whereupon I returned alone to

find some town where I might lodge; so I rode about five miles that evening, to a town called Steeple Bumsted, as I remember, in Essex, where I got lodging at an inn: but the inn-keeper being drunk, and understanding I was one called a Quaker, I heard him say, I'll kick him from stile to stile; yet the next morning being more sober, when I paid for what I had, he parted friendly with me.

"Then I rode to Halstead and Coggeshall, and after that to Colchester, and had divers good meetings there and in those parts, and at Sudbury, and near Nayland aforesaid; the country being alarmed and awakened by my suffering, the people were the more stirred up to come to meetings, and to see and hear the young man that was so cruelly whipped at Nayland; and many were tenderly affected and convinced, and the truth of our testimony was the more spread and prevailed; so that the dark wrath of man turned to the praise of God; and I had great joy and consolation in Christ Jesus, my Lord, for whom I was freely given up to suffer; and He did powerfully sustain and stand by me therein; glory to his Name, and dominion be to Him for ever!

"I was the more deeply concerned in spirit to travel and labour in the gospel ministry in that country, and those parts, where I had so greatly and openly suffered; and often to visit those eastern counties, being supported in spirit, and borne up above all the threats of branding, hanging, &c. and above the envy of that cruel persecuting spirit, and made to despise all the shame it could cast upon me, by reproach and contempt.

"In the forepart of that summer, in the year 1657, meeting with my dear friend and brother Richard Hubberthorn, we travelled together out of Huntingtonshire, from King's Ripon to Leicester, and after that to Coventry, Warwick, and Worcester, and visited Friends in those places, having some meetings with them. Thence we went into Gloucestershire, where we met

with our dear brother, George Fox, *sen.* at one justice Grimes's house, a few miles from Gloucester, who with his wife and family, were convinced of the blessed Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, his Life and Power. In the court yard, George Fox, &c. had a large meeting that first-day we met him. I showed the justice, John Gurden's bloody warrant against me, and the pass before mentioned; at which he wondered, and was offended at his cruelty, and minded to write to him against his persecution.

"The next day after the said meeting, I went to Gloucester, and visited those few Friends then in that city; which was very acceptable to them. After that, I travelled about in that county and Worcestershire, and visited the meetings of Friends mostly round the countries, and in part of Herefordshire; the Word of Life being plenteously in my heart and ministry, enabled me by his Power, largely to preach, to the convincing, strengthening, and comfort of many; although I met with opposition and contention from some Baptists, and others in those parts, as in Gloucestershire, Leominster in Herefordshire, and in the city and county of Worcester, where the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me to stand against and over all the opposition and contention which I met with; for which I did, and ever shall, bless that Divine Power whereby I was called forth, and greatly assisted in the defence of the Gospel of our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ."

SECTION V.

G. Whitehead travels in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and Stafford—And in the winter of 1657, in Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland—Returns by York into the eastern counties—An illness at Diss, 1658—Imprisoned at Ipswich—Released on the death of Oliver Cromwell—Meetings at and about Ipswich.

George Whitehead has given a pretty long account of some of the disputes in which he was engaged in the further course of this journey; and to which he alludes in the paragraph which closes the last section.

The chief topics which appear to have been discussed on these occasions, were the Scriptures—the Light within—and the possibility of perfection in this life;—but as these topics are discussed in some of the subsequent disputations which will be noticed, we shall now proceed with the author's narrative in his own words.

"In the summer of 1657, I travelled and laboured much in the ministry in the several counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and partly in Staffordshire, and other parts, and visited many meetings in the love and good will of God, which I had, through his dear Son, received a true and living sense and experience of, whereby I was strengthened and supported in great labour, in the work of the ministry of the Gospel; and in which love my service was very acceptable where I travelled among Friends and friendly people. And I met with but little opposition, disputes, or controversies from adversaries, after those I met with in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and once at a meeting at Leominster in Herefordshire; and at a meeting in Warwickshire, where a fierce Baptist began a contest about the Word, but made little work of

it; for it was observable how impertinently he opposed our asserting Christ to be the Word of God which was in the beginning, *John* i. 1. And consequently that the Word was before the Scriptures were written.

"Against which, the Baptist made exception from Christ's parable and construction thereof, *Mat.* xiii. 4—19. *Mark* iv. 4—15. *Luke* viii. 5—12. concerning some seeds which fell by the way side, which the fowls came and devoured; that is, when any one heareth the Word of the Kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart; or, the devil cometh and taketh away the Word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, *Luke* viii. 12.

"Hence it was objected, that the devil could not take away Christ out of their hearts, &c. And what then? Neither is it said the devil taketh away the Scriptures out of their hearts, or that the Scriptures were sown in them, or in those several sorts of ground. Parables are not to be taken literally, nor always to be strained to a literal sense. Though the devil cannot catch away Christ out of men's hearts, he can catch away loose and ignorant hearers' hearts from the sense of the Word preached, when touched therewith, that they may not believe and be saved; which is too common among forgetful, barren hearers. And all that can be argued from thence, can never prove that the Word is not Christ, for that is to contradict *John* i. 1. Or that Christ is not the Word preached, for that were to contradict his ministers, who preach Christ the Living, Eternal Word.

"I had sometimes heard of one Rice Jones, and that he was at first convinced of the Truth testified by George Fox, but soon turned aside against him and Friends, and gathered a separate meeting, which some people termed, 'Proud Quakers,' he making them believe he was divinely inspired, so as to open the spiritual sense of the Scriptures. They kept their meeting at the castle at Nottingham. When I was there, I was con-

cerned to visit them at their meeting, where sitting a while, and observing the manner of their exercise, and their attending to hear Rice expounding Scripture to them, and seeing how dead and empty their devotion or exercise was, I was moved to bear a plain testimony against their deadness, and not waiting to feel the power of the Lord to quicken them unto his spiritual worship. And I had some discourse with Rice, whereupon he seemed somewhat down in his spirit, and stopped from going on that time.

"A woman present, who appeared to be a sober and chief hearer, seemed somewhat offended at my discourse with him; she said to me, 'I saw a simplicity in you after you came among us, but now the subtilty is got up in you'; whereby she seemed to aim at simplicity; however, my spiritual, living testimony then borne among them, had so much effect upon that woman, and some others, that they were convinced of the Truth, and left Rice Jones and his meeting, and came to Friends, perceiving, though he had a form, he denied the power of godliness, and therefore they might well turn away from such. 2 *Tim.* iii. 5.

"And though the said Rice came to some few of our meetings afterward, yet I never heard that he came to any true settlement in his mind, in the light or power of Truth, or to a real love to Friends; for it is not men's professions, or notions gathered merely from the letter, but the Spirit, that begets true love, amity, and unity.

"Having laboured in the Gospel work in the counties and places before mentioned, and had divers large meetings that summer; after a meeting without doors at Leicester on a first-day, I was taken sick of a fever, through some cold that had seized upon me, insomuch that my recovery was doubted. When the distemper was at the height, or thereabouts, the Lord showed me in the night time, that He would restore me, and raise me up again; my work was not yet done; I must yet live to bear testimony against the covetous priests, &c.

This was so clearly and powerfully revealed, and shown to me, that I was immediately revived thereby; and certainly believed, what I had cause before to question, that the Lord would restore me to health for his name and work, and people's sake.

"My health sprung up so speedily, that I increased in strength every day; the time of that sickness being about two weeks. The place where I lay that time, was a town called Whetstone, near Leicester, at one Thomas Pauley's, or Parley's, who, and his wife, were honest loving Friends.

"Quickly after my recovery, I travelled again, in the work and service of the Lord, through part of Warwickshire, and Coventry, and northward as winter was approaching; having several good meetings in Yorkshire; and got well to my parents' house in Westmoreland, to whom I was very acceptable. I was received with great joy and kindness, having been above three years absent from them; and in that space of time, known to have suffered great hardships under persecution; so that I was to them as one risen from the dead; for they had esteemed me as one lost, in a contrary case to mine: 'This my son was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found.' Though I never was a prodigal, yet counted for one lost, until the Lord gave them a better understanding, who had so thought of me.

"And I was, and am persuaded that in the time of my three years' absence, the Lord did secretly by his power remove those prejudicial and hard thoughts, out of the hearts and minds of my parents and relations, which the priests had at first influenced them with, concerning me and my Friends, the people called Quakers. I was, and am still fully satisfied, the Lord did secretly plead my innocent cause, after I was deemed a miserable object, and given over for lost and undone; yet through all, the Lord gave me faith and patience to bear all, and to outlive many oppositions, trials, and

exercises, as well as hardships; glory to his excellent name and power for evermore!

"I had good opportunities to visit Friends at the several meetings which I had frequented, before I travelled abroad in the work of the ministry, at Sedbergh, Grayrigg, Kendal, Ravenstondale, and Strickland meetings; where I was joyfully received; and my ministry, given me of the Lord, was very acceptable, and to the great comfort of many innocent Friends; in whom their first love was fresh and lively, and which they retained to the end of their days.

"I also rode over the sands to Swarthmore in Lancashire to judge Fell's, to visit Margaret Fell and her family, and the meeting of Friends at their house: where we were comforted together in the Lord, and in the great love and unity which our Friends there and in those parts were then in.

"I also visited Friends' meetings through Cumberland, where I had not been much known before that journey; yet Friends being very loving in that county also, they kindly received me and my testimony, and service for the Lord God, and his blessed ever-living Truth; He having made me zealously concerned for the promoting and spreading thereof, as well as enabled me to endure great suffering and hardships for the same.

"In those days, Friends in the west part of Cumberland kept their meetings without doors, at a place on the common, called Pardshaw Cragg, not having convenient house room to contain the meetings. It was very cold, stormy, snowy weather at one of the meetings which I had on the said Cragg, but as there are several sides of it under the wind, so Friends commonly met on the calmest side. And truly several good and blessed meetings I had at the said Pardshaw Cragg, both in the winter and summer; and some within doors since our Friends got a meeting-house built there.

"Likewise our Friends of Strickland and Shapp, and that side of Westmoreland, kept their meetings for

some years on the common, both winter and summer, until they got a meeting house built at Great Strickland. Friends in those northern countries were greatly enabled to bear the cold, and all sorts of weather, when they had their meetings on the commons and mountainous places, for several years at first.

"And when it has rained most of the time, at some meetings where we have been very much wet, I do not recollect that ever I got any hurt thereby; the Lord so preserved and defended us by his Power. Blessed be his Name, who did enable me and many others to stand, and to bear divers kinds of storms and winds, &c.

"I travelled the former part of the winter, 1657, in Westmoreland, and also into the county of Durham, to Newcastle and Northumberland, and thoroughly visited the meetings of Friends in those parts, and at Berwick-upon-Tweed; and returned back to that called Holy Island by the sea-side, where the wife of the governor of the garrison or fort there, was a Friend; Richard Wilson, a Friend of Sunderland, accompanying me to Berwick, and back again: we were kindly received in that island, both by the governor, Captain Phillipps, and his wife. And that evening I had a meeting in the castle, where the garrison was kept, in the family, and among the soldiers, who were civil to us. We lodged there that night, being kindly entertained; and the next morning the governor sent his man with us to guide us over the sands. He being then convinced of the Truth, did the more manifest his kindness to us, and became a Friend. And some time after, he and his wife removed into Oxfordshire, to Banbury side; and so far as I know, both continued Friends to the end.

"In our return through Northumberland I declared the Truth, and warned the people in several towns, to repentance and amendment of life; particularly in one town, where they had a piper playing, and people about him dancing, by a haystack in a yard. I rode up to them; and in the dread of the Lord warned them

to repentance; whereupon the piper ceased playing, and he and the people present heard me quietly, till I had cleared my conscience, and then parted peaceably from them. But few Friends or meetings were then in that county. And as we travelled to Berwick and back again, it was hard for us to get lodgings in some places, particularly at Alnwick, as we went, and one other place in our return, and we had but a small meeting of Friends at Berwick.

"Our loving Friend John Dove, and his wife and family, at Whittlesey, kindly received me, at his house; and at North Shields, and Tinmouth, I had a meeting at each place.

"Great endeavours were used for us to have had some meetings in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; but the mayor of the town, influenced by the priests, would not suffer us to keep any meeting within the liberty; though in Gateside our Friends had settled a meeting at our beloved Friend Richard Ubank's house.

"The first meeting we endeavoured to have in the town of Newcastle, was in a large room taken by some Friends; William Coatsworth of South Shields, and others, being zealously concerned for the same.

"The meeting was not fully gathered, when the mayor of the town and his officers came; and by force turned us out, and out of the town also; for the mayor and his company commanded us, and went along with us, so far as the bridge, over the river Tyne, that parts Newcastle and Gateside; upon which bridge there is a blue stone, to which the mayor's liberty only extends, which when we came to, the mayor gave his charge to each of us in these words, viz.

"I charge and command you, in the name of his highness the lord protector, that you come no more into Newcastle, to have any more meetings there, at your peril.

"On a First-day, after we met again in the town of Newcastle, without doors, near the riverside, where the mayor's officers came again, and haled us away as

before; and in Gateside we could enjoy our meetings peaceably, which we were thankful to God for.

"Being thus forcibly disappointed of keeping any meetings in the town, some Friend or Friends, agreed with the man that kept the guildhall, or shirehouse, to suffer us to have a meeting therein, it being without the liberty of the town; yet, though the keeper of the hall had agreed for the price, the priest, whose name was Hammond, interposed, to prevent our meeting, and persuaded the said keeper to break his word with our Friends, and to keep them out of the house he had agreed they should meet in; the priest giving him half a crown to go back from his bargain: for the said keeper was constrained to show the cause of breach of his agreement, in thus keeping us out of doors.

"Being thus perfidiously disappointed of the house, after the meeting had been appointed, we were necessitated to keep the meeting on the side of the hill near the said shirehouse, that being also without the mayor's liberty.

"However it was so ordered of the Lord, by his over-ruling power, that we had not only a large meeting and a great concourse of people, besides our own Friends, but it was also kept quiet, and the spirits of people subjected and brought under, by the power and prevalency of Truth, and Gospel testimony, which the Lord our God gave me strength to bear in that meeting, in power and authority for a considerable time, as I really believe, for two or three hours together; and my voice was raised to that degree, that some said I was heard from off the side of the castle-hill, over the river Tyne, into Gateside.

"I must needs say that day's work and service is to me very memorable; and the fresh remembrance of the goodness and power of the Lord, my strength and help in his own work and service, is still matter of comfort to me, and the more, in that I feel a living sense of the continuance of the same Divine goodness, love, and Power of the Lord God with me still, that

did assist and help me through deep sufferings, trials, and weighty undertakings in his service, for his holy name and blessed truth's sake. 'O my soul bless thou the Lord, and let all that is within me praise his Holy name; for his mercy endures for ever!'

"When I found myself clear in spirit of those parts, I took my journey to York, and forward pretty directly toward the isle of Ely, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, &c. where my service, as well as sufferings, had chiefly been.

"After great labour and travel in many parts of the nation, as before related; in the second month of the year 1658, I was taken sick of an ague and fever, which began in Essex. Under it I laboured for some days, and had divers meetings until I got into Norfolk, though in a low condition; and my weakness so increased, that I was constrained to stay at a Friend's house at Diss for two or three weeks, until the Lord was pleased to recover and restore me by degrees, to my health and strength; although I was brought so very low by that sickness, that my recovery appeared to be by a special providence of God, who hath been pleased to lengthen out my days for his name and work's sake: He having by his over-ruling power and merciful providence afforded me such manifest preservations, that neither furious tumults, stonings, beating, cruel confinements, severe stripes, manifold labours, travels, nor sickness, were hitherto suffered to shorten my days; for the Lord has prolonged them even far beyond my own expectation, many years ago, as well as to the disappointment of my cruel persecutors' expectations and desires. Let my heart and soul in true humility, bless the Lord our God for his manifold blessings and eminent preservations, both inward and outward: Let him have the glory and praise of all, who alone is worthy for ever more!

"On the 12th day of the fifth month, 1658, as I was riding through the town of Hoxon in Suffolk, and meeting with Edward Willan, priest of the town; I ex-

horted him to fear God and cease from iniquity. Then we fell into some discourse, wherein the priest accused me, of seducing his flock from the church, I having had a meeting in the town the day before. I asked the priest concerning Hoxon steeple-house, if that was the church he spake of? He affirmed, that it was the church. I demanded of him to prove that such a house made of wood and stone was the church of Christ. He pretended to prove it was, from 1 *Cor.* ii. 22. 'Or despise ye the church of God?' which no way proves the Church of God to be such a house as is made up of wood and stone; for the apostle in the very same place distinguishes between their houses and the church of God; in saying; 'What have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the church of God?' I told the priest, that the church of Christ was built up of living stones. That he granted, yet stood to maintain the outward house, or fabrick, to be the church; though he acknowledged that house was not built of living stones; but alleged that when the apostle spake of the Church, he spake by a metonymy, i. e. of the thing containing, for the thing contained, wherein he wronged the apostle's words and sense; for when the apostle wrote to the Church of Christ, or to the Church of God, he wrote to them that were sanctified in Christ, called to be saints, &c. 1 *Cor.* i. 2. And to 'the Church which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 *Thes.* i. 1. This was to the sanctified people, the saints, he wrote, not to a house of wood and stone."

Whichever had the best of the argument, the power was on the side of the priest; and becoming very angry with his opponent, he seized the bridle of his horse, and forcibly held him, until, with the assistance of some of his friends, he obliged him to go before a justice of peace in the neighbourhood.

It appears that during this transaction George Whitehead charged the priest with being a persecutor, and

this expression was mainly relied upon in the charge brought against him, when he came before the magistrate; though it occurred during the forcible attempt to take him there.

George Whitehead maintained that he had broken no law; but the justice pretending that a late act of parliament for the punishment of vagrants, dissolute persons, and fiddlers, "was made only for Quakers;" granted a mittimus to commit him to Ipswich gaol charged with having *reviled the priest.* So hasty were they to convey him to prison, that they hurried him away that night on horseback; and after riding most of the night, he and his guards reached Ipswich, a distance of about twenty miles, a little after sun-rising. He soon found himself in the common or felon's gaol; where, he says, he met with "William Alexander of Needham, an honest young man, and two other honest Friends, who suffered for non-payment of tithes."

Their beds were of straw; but the keeper was more civil to them than the gaolor at Edmundsbury had been to George Whitehead and his companions.

At the quarter sessions the priest appeared, and swore that the prisoner had reviled the ministry of the Word of God, at a meeting at Hoxon; though he admitted in court, that he had not been present at the meeting. He had brought, however, another witness to declare the same; and the jury, as was usual in those days, complying with the persecuting wishes of the priests, brought in a verdict of guilty. The parties having sentenced him to pay a fine of twenty shillings, which he could not conscientiously pay, he was returned to the prison, and was there detained for some weeks; until Oliver Cromwell died, and his son Richard was proclaimed Protector. Soon after this event, by the interference of some of his friends, he was liberated from his imprisonment; after having been confined about sixteen weeks.

The course of suffering to which his exertions as an *itinerant minister* of Christ, exposed this young, active,

and zealous labourer, appears to have had no tendency to abate his efforts to promote what he believed to be THE TRUTH. After being released from his imprisonment at Ipswich, he says, he had "*very good and comfortable service*, in the work of the Gospel, in several places, in the counties of Suffolk and Essex."

For a time after the change in the Government, persecution appeared suspended; and the meetings of Friends were less frequently disturbed; but the persecuting spirit remained: and notwithstanding the high profession which the *presbyterian* party had made, of supporting liberty of conscience, it was, through the whole period of their power, evident that their views of *liberty* were confined to their own party; and that, as George Whitehead expresses it, they would not allow liberty of conscience to any people but themselves.

Not many weeks after his release from prison, he attended a meeting at Ipswich, at the house of an honest friend, a ship-master: who with his wife had embraced the despised principles of the new Society.

A considerable number of sober neighbours attended on this occasion; and it is said to have been a good, peaceable meeting. But the enemies of the Friends in that town, envious of their little quiet, endeavoured to stir up persecution against the ship-master: and succeeded in inducing a jury to present him as *receiving into his house, countenancing, harbouring, and supporting, divers dissolute, idle, loose, and suspected persons, disturbers of the public peace, commonly called Quakers; and as also keeping disorder, evil rule and government in his house, to the great nuisance of his neighbours, &c.*

George Whitehead and some of his friends published a paper, in which they endeavoured to show the falsehood and malignity of these charges; and George also addressed on the occasion, a letter of warning to "The Inhabitants of Ipswich, both Teachers and People."

SECTION VI.

Has many disputations in the years 1658 and 1659.—Account of one at Emneth on seventeen points—At Cambridge, with the keeper of the University Library—At Lynn, with the Mooreans or Universalists, on Christian perfection, Christ's body, &c.—A second with the same people, succeeded by a written controversy.

Notwithstanding the suffering and contempt which attended the Society at this period, its numbers increased materially during the protectorate of Richard Cromwell. In the years 1658 and 1659, there was some respite from open persecution; but the exertions of the Society's opponents to misrepresent it, did not cease; and many of the clergy inveighed severely against them from their pulpits. George Whitehead, in consequence, thought it right to request a public conference, with some of those who had preached against the principles which he was engaged in advocating; and several of the ministers accepting his challenge, public disputes were held on the leading points of difference. These meetings were numerously attended; but do not appear, from the particulars given of them by George Whitehead, to have been generally satisfactory. He observes that when the priests found the Friend's arguments too heavy, they would avail themselves of their influence to raise a noise and clamour, to prevent the Truth from being heard. This was the case in a dispute which George Whitehead and two of his friends, Richard Hubberthorn and Samuel Neale, had with the minister at Sandwich, in Kent.

A subsequent dispute with the minister of Emneth, in Norfolk, appears to have been more satisfactory. The minister in accepting the challenge which George Whitehead sent to him, in consequence of his having

preached against the society, judiciously wrote down seventeen questions, embracing all the topics of supposed difference of opinion; and requested his opponent to give a distinct answer to each of them, at the public dispute. This George accordingly did; and he states the questions and answers to be as follows:

"1. Whether Jesus Christ hath a body glorified in the heavens, distant and distinct from the bodies of his saints here below?

"*Answer.* Yea, as a glorified body is distinct from natural or earthy bodies, and heaven from the earth.

"2. Whether the blood that Jesus Christ shed at Jerusalem, is the blood that believers are justified by? Or whether He dies in men for their justification?

"*Answer.* Sanctification, forgiveness of sins, cleansing from sin, and justification, are sometimes ascribed to the blood of Christ, and to the Spirit of our God and our Lord Jesus Christ, which effects, works, and manifests the same in all true believers.

"But here are two questions put for one; the first appears not a scriptural or proper question; where does the Scripture use those words, viz. the blood that Jesus Christ shed? Seeing it was by wicked hands He was put to death, and his blood shed upon the cross? Yet as the blood of Jesus Christ is put for, or represents his life which He laid down, and even the offering and sacrifice of Himself at Jerusalem; that was a most acceptable Sacrifice, and of a sweet smelling savour to God for mankind, respecting his great dignity and obedience, who humbled Himself even to the death of the cross; and gave Himself a ransom for all men, for a testimony in due time; and his sacrifice, mediation, and intercession, hath opened a door of mercy for mankind to enter in at, through true repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, which are wrought in man, that obeys his call thereto, only by his grace and good spirit unto sanctification and justification, in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us wisdom, right-

cousness, sanctification and redemption. God's great love toward mankind, was manifest in his dear Son Jesus Christ, and 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' 2 *Cor.* v. 19.

"The latter question of the second is groundless and and perverse: we know neither Scripture nor minister amongst us, that asserts Christ's dying in men for their justification, but that once He died, *i. e.* for our sins; and rose again for our justification; and that He ever lives to make intercession; and death has no more dominion over Him. Christ Jesus lives and reigns for ever, in the power and glory of the Father, although some are said to crucify to themselves the Lord of Life afresh, and to tread under foot the Son of God, which cannot be taken properly in a literal sense; but by their contempt of Truth, and doing despite to his Spirit of grace, as some malicious apostates have done; not to their justification but condemnation.

"What any of us, or among us, have spoken or written of the Seed or Word, which the Son of man, Jesus Christ, sows in men's hearts; and of the same being oppressed, or suffering in some, or as being choaked with worldly cares, and the love of riches in others, &c. These, and many such like expressions may have been used, according to the parables and similitudes which Christ Jesus himself spake, relating to the kingdom of heaven, the Word or Seed of life and grace, sown by Him in men's hearts; and likewise of grieving, vexing, and quenching his Spirit in them by their disobedience; and yet all these, never intend or mean, that Christ himself properly dies in men for their justification, although his Spirit be both grieved and quenched in many; and many do lose the true sense of his Living Word in themselves, by suffering their soul's enemy to draw out their minds from that Seed, that Word, that Light, that Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ in them, which in itself, in its own being, never dies. The immortal Seed, the immortal Word, is of an im-

mortal Being, though many be dead thereunto, in their trespasses and sins.

"3. Whether this individual body of ours shall be raised at the last day?

"*Answer.* This appears an unscriptural, as well as an unlearned and dubious question, if not antiscriptural: if he means this our natural, identical body of flesh, blood, and bones, the testimony of the Apostle Paul may both answer and refute his question; the resurrection body being not natural but spiritual, not flesh and blood, for they cannot inherit the kingdom of God. 1 *Cor.* xv.

"And how is this earthy body of ours individual, if it may be divided and parted into pieces, and small particles, or dissolved into dust, or in the earth, or in the sea, or in the fire into smoke or air. Nevertheless God giveth a body as it pleaseth Him, and to every seed his own body; yea, to every soul its own proper body.

"4. Whether any saints before death are sinless?

"*Answer.* Yea, those saints whom Christ sanctifies, and cleanseth from all sin; as He doth all true and constant saints.

"5. Whether the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be three distinct persons, or subsistences?

"*Answer.* We do not find them so termed (i. e. three distinct persons) in Holy Scripture, but rather Three Witnesses, or Three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and Holy Spirit, and these Three are One. 1 *John* v.

"6. Whether water-baptism be a Gospel ordinance?

"*Answer.* No, as it was John Baptist's ministration, it was typical, and was rather legal, than a Gospel ordinance, though sometimes condescended unto in the Church's infancy.

"But if by water-baptism be meant sprinkling infants, that is no real baptism nor Gospel ordinance, but rather rantism, and a tradition of the Romish Church, than any Gospel ordinance.

"7. Whether the Scriptures be the rule of your faith, and life, or the Spirit?

"*Answer.* We do not find that the Scriptures call themselves the rule of faith and life, but refer us to the Holy Spirit to be our guide into all Truth, and they testifying of Christ, as He is the Way to the Father, even the Way, the Truth and the Life; we do therefore truly esteem the Holy Scriptures as a subordinate rule, or directory, directing us to Him who is the principal, or chief guide, way, or rule of faith and life; and we do sincerely own, that the Holy Scriptures contain many divine rules, precepts, and doctrines, relating to our most holy faith and life.

"8. Whether children of darkness have the Light of Christ within them?

"*Answer.* They have some degree of light from Christ in them, though it shines in darkness, as a light shining in a dark place, otherwise they could not come, nor be translated out of darkness; they must believe in the Light, in order to become children of the Light, and therefore Christ exhorted; "believe in the Light, that ye may be children of the Light."

"9. Whether that act be sin in a saint, which is a sin in a wicked man?

"*Answer.* The act of sin, and every transgression of the law of Christ, is sin in fact, in whomsoever it is; but the saints, or sanctified in Christ, who dwell in Him, do not allow, or suffer sin to dwell in them, nor themselves to commit it; he that abides in Christ sinneth not.

"10. Whether there be any moral difference in days under the Gospel?

"*Answer.* No, not as under the law in the observation of sabbaths, which were a shadow or sign to Israel, and are ended in Christ, in whom is the faithful soul's everlasting rest or sabbath. Yet there is, and may be a religious or an occasional difference made in days under the Gospel, as where a day is, or may be regarded unto the Lord; especially in religious assemblies,

and particularly as was, and is practised on the first day of the week among Christians.

"The Apostle Paul was tender in this case, about one man's entertaining and regarding one day above another, and another man's esteeming every day alike, and about meats, so as not to judge one another; but let every man, said he, be fully persuaded in his own mind, *Rom.* xiv. Yet condemns the Jewish, and superstitious observation of days, meats, and drinks, &c. *Gal.* iv. 10, 11.

"11. Whether it be a duty for Christians to celebrate the Lord's Supper with bread and wine?

"*Answer.* In this question he begs the question; imposing and taking for granted their bread and wine as ministered by the priest, to be the Lord's Supper, which I must deny until proved by Scripture. For that which was properly the Lord's Supper, was when He and his disciples eat the passover. *Luke* xx. 15. There is no necessity now for Christians to celebrate that Supper; for that was both celebrated and fulfilled by Christ himself. And the passover and outward bread and wine, or cup, were typical and shadows, fulfilled by Christ Jesus, and in Him unto his true spiritual believers and followers, who are spiritually partakers of Christ the Substance, being come to receive Him to sup with them, and they with Him. *Rev.* iii.

"12. Whether an outward mission, by imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, by men so ordained themselves to the work of the ministry, be according to Gospel order?

"*Answer.* An outward mission by these, without an inward Divine call, is not sufficient to authorize any one to be Christ's minister, or ambassador; neither have they any Divine authority to commission ministers by their imposition of hands, fasting, or prayer, who themselves have no Divine call, nor authority given them by Christ thereunto, but who rather conclude, that his immediate call, ministry, and prophecy are long since ceased.

"13. Whether the Scriptures be the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts?

"*Answer.* No, 1. Not without the help of the Holy Spirit and Light thereof, to give the true understanding of them. 2. Not the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts, in a limited or universal sense, as if none might believe without them; for God may make, and hath made use of other means than the Scriptures, as by preaching the Gospel in Spirit and power. 3. By his works in the creation. 4. Chiefly by the word of faith in men's hearts which is the efficient cause of begetting and working faith in them, being the faith of the operation of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the Author and Finisher of our faith. 5. Nevertheless the Holy Scriptures being opened and applied by the Spirit, are often made instrumental to beget faith in men's hearts.

"14. Whether the Scriptures need any interpretation and reconciliation?

"*Answer.* Yea, to the first part, many Scriptures are mysterious, allegorical, parabolical, and prophetical, and need to be interpreted and opened by the Spirit from whence they came; but not by man's human, or fleshly wisdom, or private interpretation; for the natural man perceiveth not, nor can he know the things of the Spirit of God, they being spiritually discerned. Neither need the Holy Scriptures reconciliation in themselves; for they are harmonious and do agree, and the Scripture cannot be broken.

"15. Whether the Divine nature of Jesus Christ be united to the bodies of believers, as it was to his own personal body in Judea?

"*Answer.* No, although true believers, who are Christ's members, are spiritually united unto Him, and members of his body, and made partakers of his Divine nature; yet not in the same fulness as it is in Him, who is the Head, in whom it hath pleased the Father, that all fulness should dwell.

"16. Whether the Pope of Rome be antichrist, and papacy antichristian?

"*Answer.* Yea, to both.

"17. Whether George Whitehead will take the oath of abjuration, and renounce the Pope?

"*Answer.* George Whitehead has not a renunciation, or denial of the Pope or popery now to make, having never owned either, but always utterly denied and disowned both; although he cannot swear to such renunciation, because for conscience sake he may not swear at all; either by that oath of abjuration, i. e. to renounce the Pope, &c. or by any other oath, lest he should fall into condemnation." *Mat.* v. *James* v. 11.

The answers to the questions here given by George Whitehead, were of course but the heads of his reply. Considerable discussion took place upon several of the points; but they had not time to go through the whole. The people were attentive and serious; and the meeting ended quietly and without any reflections upon the new Society.

In regard to the precise nature of Christ's body in heaven, George Whitehead would not be driven from Scripture expressions. He would not allow that the term *human* might be applied to it in its *glorified state.* If the bodies of the saints were to be changed or fashioned like unto His glorious body, it was inferable that some change* had taken place in Christ's body since his ascension, as He was when on earth *in all respects like unto us, sin excepted.*†

Christ's body in Heaven was certainly not human in such manner as to require the appendages of an earthly body, as food, clothing, &c. "*Humanus,*" says George Whitehead, "relates to *Humus,* the *ground or earth,* out of which the first Adam was taken and formed, and therefore that term was thought too low to ascribe to

* Such a change is not incompatible with identity.

† *Heb.* iv. 15. ii. 16, 17.

the Second Adam or his glorious body, who is the Lord from heaven; not an earthly man but a Heavenly Man, morally and essentially. Howbeit could we have had Scripture proof to ascribe *human* to the Heavenly Man Christ Jesus in his glorified state, it had decided the question."

The priests generally endeavoured to conduct their dispute by the syllogistic method, thinking probably to confound their opponents, and mislead vulgar hearers by the display of scholastic knowledge. How little the use of arbitrary logical terms, are adapted to elicit truth, and how often they lead those who use them into absurd conclusions, is sufficiently evident from the reports of these disputations. The following account of a dispute at Cambridge may serve as a specimen. George Whitehead's antagonist was the keeper of the university library, with whom he had had a previous contest in the city of Westminster, at a meeting for worship which the librarian attended; at which he thought proper to charge the Friends with heresy.

"I and another Friend," says George Whitehead's narrative, "went to the mayor of Cambridge, to desire liberty for us to have our meeting for the dispute at the guild-hall, suspecting Friends' meeting-house would not contain the people. The mayor being a moderate man, and his wife a friend of ours, after some consideration signified to us, that he durst not let us have the guild-hall, for fear the scholars should do some mischief; but he told us, that if we met at our own meeting-house, which was over against Sidney-College, he would send his officers to keep the peace; which accordingly he did.

"On the day of our meeting to dispute, came our learned antagonist, Thomas Smith, attended with a great company of scholars, of several degrees, bachelors, and masters of art, &c. He again resumed his old charge of heresy against us, having had time to study some new arguments for proof, and then proceeded with his logic and syllogisms; and I did not at all go

about to prevent his essay that way, being willing to watch him, and see what work he would make of it; and thus he attempted it, viz.

He that is a papist, is a heretic:
But you are papists, (i. e. the Quakers,)
Ergo, You are heretics.

"*George Whitehead.* I deny the minor, or second part of the argument, that is, I deny that we are papists.

"*Priest.* He that refuses to take the oath of abjuration, is a papist:

But you refuse to take the oath of abjuration,
Ergo, you are papists.

"*George Whitehead.* I except against the major, or first part of the argument, and the consequence deduced therefrom, for the following reasons. Christ hath commanded us, not to swear at all, &c. *Matt.* v. 34, &c. And his apostle James likewise forbids all swearing, saying: 'Above all things my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven, neither by earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, lest you fall into condemnation.' *James* v. 12.

"Now suppose the apostle James were here present, to maintain this doctrine against all swearing, or taking any oath, he must refuse the oath of abjuration, because it is an oath; he must obey the doctrine of his Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. Then by this person's way of arguing against me and the Quakers, he would be charged with being a papist and heretic. And thus the argument consequently unjustly charges, or reflects upon Christ and his holy apostles; to which the priest could make no reply, to clear himself from the absurdity and fallacy of his argument, and false charge.

"When he failed in his arguments, and was detected, some of the scholars that stood by, would say to him, 'Take that off;' by which I understood they meant, drop that argument, or let it fall, or evade it, and slide off to some other point, or argument, for so he did: and this I have found to be the shift and subterfuge of

many adversaries, to evade a fair disquisition of the question, or point in hand; insomuch as I have often called out upon them, to keep to the point in hand, and not to evade, nor use shifting.

"This is a brief account of the discourse at that meeting.

"However, our dispute was managed in such moderation, that the meeting was continued pretty quiet to the end, the scholars being generally civil. And we being sensible the Truth gained ground at that meeting, came off very easy and comforted in our spirits.

"In Cambridge, I had, in those days, divers good meetings, and effectual service for the Truth; and they generally were peaceable, while I was concerned in them, the scholars being more civil towards me than we could expect; for many of them would stand to hear the Truth with great attention: and I often felt the Lord's power over their spirits in our meetings; though some time after I left them, I heard that Friends met with disturbance, and some with hard usage from some of the scholars, which I was sorry to hear; it being partly occasioned by some striving with them, not in the wisdom of God, whereby it appeared, that the evil spirit might be more easily raised and let loose than subdued or bound.

"Howbeit, this I have observed, that when we have, in a meeting in that place, met with some opposition, if it was by any person of understanding, or learning, that would deport himself soberly, we could have some fair and quiet discourse, tending to information, and edification; and the scholars present would demean themselves with attention, as persons willing to receive instruction; but if a vain irreligious person came into a meeting to scoff, deride, or laugh at us, or show contempt against our Christian testimony, such an one would raise levity or laughter, in some or other of the loose scholars, to their hurt and shame.

"One time an old priest, who had been blind from his childhood, and some company with him, came into

our meeting, and behaved themselves pretty civilly; the priest seemed to be a learned person, and would undertake to question me about the Trinity; as to my belief therein. I answered him in terms of Holy Scriptures, viz. That I really own, and believe the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are the Three which bear record in heaven; and these Three are One, according to the doctrine of John the evangelist. 1 *John* v. 7.

"But this answer would not please the priest; and I would give him no other; I would not enter into a dispute about three distinct persons, which the priest would have drawn me into; I not being free in point of conscience to give other names or appellations to the One True God, than what are given in Holy Scripture, I did not esteem it safe to use unscriptural or metaphysical terms, on such a sacred point as that of the Deity, but to keep to plain Scripture terms and language."

The next controversy in which George Whitehead appears to have been engaged, was with a class of persons who had risen up under the name of Manifesterians, Universalists, or Free-willers; and who were called by some Mooreans, from one Thomas Moor, their chief minister. These people are said to have prevailed about Lynn, in Norfolk, and the neighbouring country; and many of them appear to have been serious inquirers after Truth. Several of these professors joined the Society of Friends, which excited a very hostile feeling on the part of their leaders, who took great pains to traduce the Society, both by words and writings. John Horn, one of the ministers of this sect, who was the parish priest at Lynn, with Thomas Moor, junior, son of the *founder*, were particularly active in their opposition, styling the Quakers antichrists, heretics, accursed, &c.

In consequence of these proceedings, George Whitehead and George Fox the younger, requested a public

meeting with them; and they met in the parish church at Lynn, in the summer of 1659.

The topics of discussion were, *First*, "The possibility of a sinless state being attained in this life, by true believers in Christ.

"*Secondly*. Whether the Light wherewith Christ enlighteneth every man, be a Spiritual Light.

"*Thirdly*. As to the state of Christ's body in heaven."

These were the points, it is presumable, on which the Mooreans had rested their charge of heresy, &c. In regard to the two first points, the Friends, of course, maintained the affirmative.

They maintained, that Christ came "to destroy the works of the devil, and to restore and save man from sin and condemnation;" and that "the grace of God, in and through Jesus Christ, was sufficient for the blessed attainment of perfect sanctification, perseverance in grace, and abiding in Christ."

"To prove sin a natural inheritance in believers, so long as they are here," their opponents quoted *Rom.* vii. 17. "It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me;" which, it was replied, did not prove that sin dwelt in the apostle all his life, much less that sin was his *necessary state* so long as he lived; "for he knew deliverance: he was made free from sin and condemnation, and more than conqueror through Christ that loved him."

The Mooreans allowed a perfection of sincerity towards God, and illustrated their views by the character of Asa king of Judah, of whom it was said, that "his heart was perfect with the Lord his God all his days;" 1 *Kings* xv. 14. although he appears to have been far from sinless, and persecuted the honest prophet who was sent to him by the Lord, to reprove him for his foolishness, and to tell him of the judgments which should attend him.

The Friends considered this illustration of their opponents' argument, as showing the low views which

they took of the standard of Christian sanctification or holiness, as if it were compatible with a state of mind in which we may "*do foolishly, commit sin, decline from the Lord, and not rely upon Him or seek to Him, in a day of distress, or affliction.*" Such a view, they contended, was directly opposed to the Scripture declaration, in regard to the *state of the new birth, or of him who is born of God, and in whom his Seed remains.* 1 *John* iii.

The discussion on the second point is reported in the following short paragraph.

"The Light wherewith Christ lighteth every man that cometh into the world, *John* i. 9, they would not confess to be spiritual, as immediately shining from Christ the Divine Word; but Thomas Moor said: 'It is both natural and spiritual;' though they never could make that out, of that one and the same Light spoken of, *John* i. 4. 9. It being the Life which was in the Word, which was, and is the Light of men, from the beginning, and which is therefore divine and spiritual, and not man's natural reason; which in one sense they esteemed spiritual, as opposed to the natural body; but in another sense, natural as opposed to divine Light, though the Word be divine."

In regard to the third head of dispute, George Whitehead says: "Because we owned Christ's body in His glorified state in heaven, to be a glorious, spiritual body, and the resurrection bodies of the saints to be not *carnal* but *spiritual*, they would insinuate against us, a denial of the body of Christ in heaven, and of the resurrection; whereupon we did not only confess the resurrection and ascension of Christ's body that was put to death, that his flesh saw no corruption, i. e. that it did not corrupt, but rose again a real body; but we also turned some questions upon them concerning the body of Christ after He ascended, to know if they owned the same, to have been a spiritual, glorious body; or in what sense they owned it."

Thomas Moor contended for its being of flesh and bones, but without blood; and suggested that this was also the case with Adam's body in his paradisiacal state. George Whitehead contended generally, that, on the authority of Scripture, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither can corruption inherit incorruption." 1 *Cor.* xv. 50, &c.—that Christ's body was clearly declared to be *glorious*—and "that the bodies of the saints, in the resurrection, shall be like unto his *glorious body*—spiritual, *incorruptible*, equal to the angels—which equality is ascribed to the sons of God, and of the resurrection."

George Whitehead appears to have thought this description of the glorified body, to be inconsistent with the opinion of its retaining the character of flesh and bones; but he would not presume to say what were its component parts; and his opponents admitted, that they knew not what change or transformation took place in the body of Christ, in its ascension and glory.

The observations which George Whitehead makes upon this part of the controversy are well worth attention, and prove that he was desirous of fully conforming his views on the subject, to the authority of Holy Scripture.

"It is not safe," he observes, "for men to be busy, and intruding into those matters and things not seen; for by such intrusion, questions and critical disputes arise about the manner of the resurrection, how and with what bodies, and in what form and manner they shall appear, &c. This is next to a denial or unbelief of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and tends to beget questions, doubtings, and unbelief thereof; and it is not safe for the weak in faith to be received into doubtful disputations. There were some among the Corinthians, that said: 'There is no resurrection of the dead;' 1 *Cor.* xv. 12. whose foolishness the apostle reprehended, when they questioned: 'How are the dead raised up? And with what body do they come?' Whom he answered in these words: 'Thou fool, that

which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be,' &c. *ver.* 35—37.

Now as to the resurrection according to Holy Scripture, we do not doubt or question, but sincerely believe it; and that if in this life we have a part in Christ, and experience Him to be the Resurrection and the Life unto us, we doubt not, but believe we shall have our own proper bodies, which shall be both spiritual and glorious, 'like unto His glorious body.' To every seed He will give a body as it pleaseth Him; and therefore if we should be so nice or curious, as to question God, or Christ, or his saints, or ministers, what manner of bodies, and of what essence or substance they shall be—or how bright, glorious, and spiritual—this would bespeak a distrust, or unbelief of a future state of saints in glory, and of the divine power, as well as the appointment and promises of God and Christ, to bring them into such a state of glory. Certainly if the Lord own us for his children, and sons of God while in this life, though 'yet it appears not what we shall be; we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is,' 1 *John* iii. 1, 2. And our Lord Jesus Christ declared: 'This is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day.' *John* vi. 40. 44. And 'Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given Me, be where I am, that they may behold my glory, which Thou hast given me,' &c. *John* xvii. 24. We may rest contented in the real faith and earnest given us, of these glorious promises and privileges, without being busy with unlearned questions or perverse disputings; or intruding into things not seen, or secret unrevealed things which belong to God. And if any should question what manner of change, or transmutation Christ's body had, after He arose from the dead, or in his ascension, or how it was changed, being seen to have flesh and bones, and no blood in it, as sup-

posed, when he was risen from the dead, as these adversaries have uncertainly and dubiously suggested—I should conclude such busy intruders ought not to be gratified nor answered, but to be avoided.

"We may without doubt believe Christ's body wonderfully changed and glorified in his ascension, and that Enoch, *Heb.* xi. 5. who was translated that he should not see death, was changed; also the prophet Elijah, 2 *Kings* ii. 11. when he was taken up in a fiery chariot, and by a whirlwind went into heaven; whereby was typified Christ's ascension, he being an eminent type of Christ. We may without offence, believe Elijah's body must be changed before he got into heaven, seeing 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God,' 1 *Cor.* xv. 50. and yet without offence conclude, that the body of Enoch, before he was translated, and the body of Elijah, were not without blood in them; or else they had no such change as to be made meet for that kingdom, which flesh and blood cannot inherit.

"The great power and works of God in these transactions and matters, should rather be occasion of admiration than of disputation; as well as the resurrection by the power of Christ, and sudden change of the living even 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.' 1 *Cor.* xv. 51, 52.

"It is by the great and glorious power of our Lord Jesus Christ, the power and wisdom of God, that such a sudden and wonderful change must be effected, and the dead raised incorruptible. And it being 'appointed for men once to die, and after this the judgment;' and that there shall be 'a resurrection both of the just and unjust;' and that it shall go well with the righteous, but ill with the wicked; I have always believed it better to labour to be righteous in this life, than to trouble our heads and imaginations about what, or how we shall be in the life to come, or what manner of bodies or clothing we shall have in heaven; and to trust the

Lord therewith. Our chief care and concern should now be, to walk in the way to heaven, to get thither in the way of truth and righteousness and there we shall not want, but enjoy all things to complete our joy and felicity in heaven and eternal glory; even in the full fruition of that incorruptible inheritance which will never fade away, 'reserved in heaven for all them who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.' 1 *Pet.* i. 4, 5.

"Many persons, by vain imaginations and high thoughts, and intruding into things not seen [revealed] and matters too high for them, and their human wisdom and carnal reason, do thereby darken themselves, and cloud their understandings from the true sanctifying and saving knowledge of God, and mystery of Christ Jesus, and his power and Spirit, who is mighty and powerful in Himself, and in his saints and members; who being spiritually united to Him, and thereby made members of his body, are one body in Him; so that there is one body and one Spirit. *Ephes.* iv. 4.

"There are other persons who in their singular opinions, strange or new notions, exalt themselves in their own conceits above all others, and thereby cause contention, strife, and divisions, many times either about words, critical distinctions, or things not essential to salvation, or to the saving knowledge of the true God or his Son Jesus Christ; and thereby such endeavour to make divisions and parties to themselves.

"When a person fearing God, and loving our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth, confesseth a real belief, faith, or hope, in terms of Holy Scripture, it is sufficient; whether it be of the suffering, death, resurrection, or ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ into heaven and glory; or of his body being spiritual and glorious in heaven. And as the saints, being spiritually united to Him, are his Church and body also, and esteemed mystical while here on earth; so their low or humble body shall be changed and fashioned like unto his glorious body. And I would advise all Friends to

keep to the words, terms, language, and doctrine of Holy Scripture, and not to be wheedled or drawn from the same, nor suffer themselves to be imposed upon, either with unscriptural terms or unlearned questions, by any contentious or carping adversaries whatsoever: for foolish and unlearned questions, as well as profane and vain babbling, must be avoided."

"'Without controversy, great is the mystery of Godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.' 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. Now this mystery of Godliness, being a great mystery without controversy, it is best for professors of Christianity to keep out of controversies and shun perverse disputes of men of corrupt minds, with all their unprofitable questions; and to turn in their minds to the Light of Christ, retire to the simplicity in Him, and watch therein to understand this great mystery of Godliness, both with respect to 'God manifest in the flesh, and justified in Spirit.' The manifestation and power of Christ in the flesh, was excellent in Him; and therein by his most precious precepts and doctrine, his wonderful works and miracles, his blessed example and sufferings, he declared and showed forth the Holy design of Christianity. And to be truly sensible of his being justified in Spirit, is very precious, and arises from a true, spiritual, living knowledge and experience of Christ in Spirit, and as known after the Spirit, and not after the flesh, or any fleshly knowledge of Him; for as wisdom is justified, commended, and praised of her children by the fruits thereof in them; so Christ is justified and exalted in Spirit, in his faithful followers, his holy generation and children.

"God and his great Power was wonderfully manifest in Christ in the days of his flesh; and He showed divers signal tokens and signs of his Power in those days: as in his wonderful miracles; laying down his life and taking it up again; in his transfiguration in the mount, so that his face did shine as the sun, &c. *Matt.* xvii. in

his appearing in divers forms after He arose from the dead; *Mark* xvi. 12. and at sundry times showing Himself, and appearing in the midst of his disciples, the door being shut. *John* xx. 19. 26. And also when He sat at meat with them, and in such a familiar manner manifested Himself, that their eyes were opened that they knew Him, He vanished out of their sight. *Luke* xxiv. 30, 31. Such wonderful power He showed after He was risen from the dead, to manifest Himself, and confirm his disciples in the faith, knowledge, and testimony of his resurrection, as well as in his ascension."

Not long after the dispute which we have been relating, George Whitehead had another in the chancel of the parish church, with John Horn, the minister; and it appears that on both occasions a large number of persons attended, and behaved with civility. The discussions do not however appear to have increased the satisfaction of the parties with each other; and an angry printed controversy ensued in which the points debated between them were more fully treated on.

SECTION VII.

Disputations with a Presbyterian minister at Lynn, on the Scriptures, the resurrection of the body, the Trinity, &c.—with an Independent minister at Pulham, on the Light of Christ—meets a minister in the steeple-house at Haddenham.—A meeting at Peterborough—goes to Oakham—Coggeshall—Bristol.

The opposition which the Friends and their cause met with at Lynn, so far from discouraging George Whitehead, stirred him up to be more frequent in his visits; that he might repel the misrepresentations which were cast upon the cause he espoused; and to prevent serious enquirers from being misled, by the calumnies of its opponents. He had considerable meetings with his friends and others at Lynn, and besides his public disputes with the parties just mentioned, he had three public meetings with a Presbyterian minister of the name of Falconer, at Lynn, in which they appear to have discussed the points in dispute between them, in a pretty amicable manner: I shall here only notice the first question that George Whitehead was called upon to answer, which was "whether there be Three Persons in the Godhead."

George Whitehead, though he would not adopt the expression "Three distinct Persons" in the Deity, as being unscriptural, makes the following declaration.

"The Holy Scripture Trinity, or Three thereby meant, we never questioned, but believed; as also the unity of essence, that they are one substance, One Divine, Infinite Being; and also we question not, but sincerely believe the relative *properties* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; according to Holy Scripture testimony, *Matt.* xxviii. 19. and that 'these Three are One.' 1 *John* v. 7."

George Whitehead adds the following note upon this subject; "I well remember in some conference which

I had with Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, our friends Gilbert Latey and Dr. Thomas Lower, present, the archbishop and I fell into some friendly discourse about the Trinity; as to their definition of a person; what a person is. I told the archbishop I had discoursed many, especially of the learned, about that point; and that upon the definition of a person, or what the word person means, I never could find them consistent, but contradictory to themselves, on their own article of faith; as when they thus define person, viz. an intelligent being; or individual substance, of a rational nature, as Thomas Aquinas, who has been quoted against us, saith: 'Persona est naturæ rationalis individua substantia, quæ nec est pars alterius nec ab alio sustentatur,' i. e. 'A person is an individual substance of a rational nature, which is neither a part of another, nor upheld by another.' I mentioning this to the archbishop, told him withal, that to assert Three Persons in the Deity, seeing they are not Three Beings nor Three Substances, I confess I could never reconcile with their being Three distinct or separate Persons, and not Three Substances, but One Substance, or Being; when a *person* is a rational substance by their own account. And moreover they deem it blasphemy, to hold the blessed Trinity to be three Substances or three Beings, for that were to make them three Gods. How then are they three distinct Persons, i. e. rational Substances? The use of these terms, as I told the archbishop, I could never reconcile; for if they be not three distinct Substances, they are not three distinct Persons. Unto which he ingeniously answered: 'It is safest or best to keep to Scripture words or terms, in expressing such weighty matters of faith concerning the Deity, and not to express them in metaphysical terms of philosophy, or the like, which are not in Holy Scripture.' And truly I was glad when I heard such a honest confession from him."

In the year 1654 George Whitehead believed it his

religious duty to visit the city of Norwich and county of Norwich; and county of Norfolk; and, in the course of his journey hearing of a noted preacher among the Independants, in the neighbourhood of Pulham, and that he was to preach at Diss, George Whitehead, accompanied by Robert Duncan, went to the place; and having heard all that the preacher had to deliver, George Whitehead called to him and said: "Thou art weighed and found too light," &c. It is not surprising, after this address, that George was speedily pushed out of the house; but getting on to a tomb, he preached to the people, pointing out "the barrenness and fruitlessness of the people under such ministers," &c. The people heard him quietly for a considerable time; yet on his concluding, some were for putting him into the stocks, but others prevented it; and he was permitted to proceed quietly on his journey.

George Whitehead appears to have reverted to his visit in the year 1654, in order to introduce some particulars of a public dispute with the same Independent minister, in the 8th month 1659, and which in point of time falls in this part of his narrative. From the account of this dispute I take the following extract.

"The first question propounded to Thomas Benton, the preacher alluded to, to be discoursed on was: Whether every man in the world is enlightened with a spiritual Light, yea, or nay?

"His answer was, That he denied that every man is enlightened with a spiritual Light, but with a natural light, as the light of reason, creation light, or the like; yet he confessed that every man is enlightened by Christ as a Creator, but not as a mediator.

"Herein his inconsistency was apparent: for, if every man be enlightened by Christ as Creator, then is every man enlightened with a spiritual, Divine light; for as Christ is Creator, He is a Divine, spiritual light, and the Fountain of Light; for God is a Spirit and Light also, in whom is no darkness at all.

"But to render the Light of the Creator natural or

natural reason, and the Light of Christ spiritual, is not only to divide the Light, which is one, but to set the light of the Mediator above the Light of the Creator.

"John the evangelist testified of Christ the Word, 'That was with God, and was God; that He was the True Light, which enlightens every man coming into the world; and that in Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men.' *John* i. 4. 9. This life of the Eternal Word, is above any natural light or natural reason, for it is a Divine Principle of Life and Light.

"And 'God who commanded Light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts;' for what end? but 'to give us the Light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ!' 2 *Cor.* iv. Therefore before we have that knowledge or degree of Light given, God shines in our hearts to give it unto us: and still it is the Light and glory of one and the same God and Christ Jesus, gradually revealed and made know in us.

"And likewise what power, glory, Spirit, life, light, and wisdom, the Son hath to give or impart unto men, especially unto true believers, his followers, it is all first given to Him of the Father. He 'received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them.' *Psalm* lxviii. 18. Of whom did He receive them but of his Heavenly Father?

"As our Heavenly Father and his dear Son are not divided, no more is their Light; it is one individual Light and Life; the Fulness whereof dwells in Christ the Son of the Living God, in whom 'it pleased the Father, that all Fulness should dwell;' *Col.* i. 19. and 'to give all power in heaven and earth unto Him;' *Matt.* xxviii. 18. although 'unto every one of us is given Grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ.' *Eph.* iv. 7. He who received the Spirit not by measure, but in immensity or immense Fulness, gives to us by measure, and the knowledge thereof gradually, if we be sincerely obedient to his gift.

"The said Thomas Benton also affirmed, that if those gentiles mentioned, *Rom.* ii. 14. had improved that Light to the utmost which they had, it had not been sufficient for them unto salvation.

"This still is relative to his mistaken notion, that they had only a light from God the Creator, but not from Christ the Mediator, which appears contrary to the text, *Rom.* ii. 13, 14, 15. For both Jews and gentiles, were all to be judged, even the secrets of men without exception, by Jesus Christ, according to the Gospel. *ver.* 16. But if they should be judged and condemned, either because they had not a sufficient light given them of God to save them, or no gospel Light by Jesus Christ to improve unto salvation; this were to render God and Christ both unmerciful and unjust Judges. What! judge and condemn men for not improving, or not obeying a Light, Law, or Gospel, they never had, nor might have, if not given unto them! Or when they made the best improvement they could of that light given unto them; yet for all this, to fall short of salvation, and consequently to be judged unto condemnation. Oh! unmerciful and cruel, and contrary to common justice among men; and surely such doctrine cannot be according to the Gospel of the free Grace of God in Christ Jesus; but rather agreeable to the partial narrow notion of Predestinarians, and such as would by their doctrine limit and confine the Grace and love of God, only to a small select number of mankind!

"Such partial opinion is manifestly repugnant to the free and universal love of God; with whose great love his dear Son Jesus Christ was so fully replenished, that He was well called the Son of his love; which He hath so freely and universally extended unto the world, according to the good will of his Heavenly Father, in all the good He hath done and given to the children of men; and therefore the love of Christ testified of in Holy Scripture, is truly the love of God in Him to us all.

"And if God 'spared not his own Son, but delivered

Him up for us all; how shall He not with Him also, freely give us all things!' *Rom.* viii. 32.

"Jesus Christ showed his own and Heavenly Father's great love to all men, as He is the Light of the world, and given for a light unto the gentiles, and to be God's Salvation to the ends of the earth; and also in His dying for all men; by the grace of God tasting death for every man; giving Himself a ransom for all men, and in making intercession both for transgressors and for the saints: also, according to the will of God, He appears in the Presence of God for us, even in heaven itself; and also by his Holy Spirit in all true believers: His Spirit maketh intercession, helpeth our infirmities, moves and assists us in prayer. They who are sons of God, are sensible that 'He hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into their hearts, crying Abba, Father!' *Gal.* iv. 6.

"The humility, mercy, and condescension of Jesus Christ, our Blessed Mediator, are such, that He is touch-with the feeling of our infirmities, weaknesses, and temptations, and ready to succour, help, and relieve all them that are tempted, even by his Grace and good Spirit, in their drawing near to the throne of his Mercy and Grace.

"O faithful Creator! O King of saints! O merciful High Priest! O compassionate Mediator! Let thy Light and thy Truth shine forth more and more, to the glory of thy great and excellent name and power, and expel the great darkness of apostacy, that has covered many nations and professions of Christianity, and greatly appeared in these latter times against thy Light, thy Truth, and people, whom thou hast called and delivered out of darkness, into thy marvellous Light. Glory and dominion be to thy great Name and power, for ever and ever!

"To return to the matter in controversy: my opposer Thomas Benton affirmed, that it was a corrupt nature by which those gentiles, mentioned *Rom.* ii. 14. did those things contained in the law, which he confessed was the moral law, or ten commandments.

"Herein the man was as far out as in the rest of his mistakes: for who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Do men gather grapes of thorns? Or can an evil tree bring forth good fruit? No surely! no more could those gentiles by a corrupt, unsanctified nature, do those things contained in the righteous Law of God; which requires sincere and entire love to Him, and true love to our neighbours as to ourselves.

"Other errors were at that dispute committed by the said Thomas Benton, as, that those mentioned, *Rom.* i. 20. saw the invisible things of God by a natural light; and that natural men might clearly see the Eternal Power of God as a Creator, but not Christ as a Mediator.

"Herein his mistake is notorious; for the invisible things of God there mentioned, are his Eternal Power and Deity or Godhead; and they who understood and saw them from the creation, were of those gentiles who knew God, and yet liked not to retain Him in their knowledge; but became vain in their imaginations, whereby their foolish hearts became darkened; and so they became miserable apostates: howbeit, the sight and knowledge they sometimes had of God and his Eternal Power, was not by a natural light or knowledge; but by a spiritual Divine Light given them of God; and their knowledge they had of God, and their understanding and sight of his invisible things, originally sprang from a divine principle in them; seeing that which might be known of God, was manifest in them; for it was God that showed the same unto them. *Rom.* i. Insomuch that they themselves were without excuse, in their declension from the same: for it is plain, that 'the natural man, neither receiveth, nor can know the things of the Spirit of God, they being spiritually discerned.' 1 *Cor.* ii. 14.

"Men must be changed; they must be renewed in the spirit of their minds, in some measure, before they can clearly see or know the invisible things of God, or of his Spirit; for it is not by the spirit of this world, nor

by the wisdom thereof, nor yet by any merely natural light, that those things of God, are made known unto us, but by the Spirit which is of God. 1 *Cor.* ii. This Spirit being obeyed, we follow God's teachings and drawings, and shall not fall short of the knowledge of Christ our Mediator, nor be deprived of the great benefit or fruit of his mediation; who said, that, every man that hath heard and learned of the Father, cometh unto Me. *John* vi. 45. And Christ Jesus the Son of God, being the Way to the Father, no man cometh unto the Father but by Him."

The dispute ended peaceably; and there was subsequently a considerable addition to the Society in those parts.

The next public dispute in which George Whitehead was engaged, was with a minister of Bluntisham and Earith, in Huntingdonshire; but the meeting was held at Haddenham, in the Isle of Ely, in Cambridgeshire. It appears to have been chiefly on one side, the minister occupying most of the time in reviling the Quakers, without allowing his antagonist to reply. The people repeatedly called out to their pastor to allow George to be heard, and the priest at length leaving the assembly, George Whitehead says: "I had a very good opportunity to declare and demonstrate the Truth, and preach the Gospel to the people; and when I had thereby cleared my conscience, I gave them public notice of a meeting I intended, if the Lord pleased, to have the next day at the same town. So we all went *peaceably* out of their steeple-house; and the next day, according to appointment, we had a very good and serviceable meeting, to which divers men of account came."

The narrative of George Whitehead proceeds as follows:—

"After I had travelled and laboured some time in the work of the Gospel, in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, and some parts of Lincoln-

shire, as that called Holland, &c., as also in some parts of Northamptonshire, I was much pressed in spirit, to endeavour for a meeting in the city of Peterborough, though I heard of no Friends there to receive me, or our Friends; but upon enquiry, a sober honest minded man, of reputation and quality, was willing to have a meeting at his house, which accordingly was appointed to be on a First-day of the week, in the first or second month, in the year 1660. And many Friends from divers parts adjacent, resorted to it, out of the Fens, and some out of Rutlandshire, &c.

"In the week before the meeting, I had a great weight and sense upon my spirit, that we should have some trial and exercise, by suffering, at that meeting, being sensible of the great darkness and wickedness that were in that city, though but a little one; and so it came to pass, for when our Friends began to meet in the house, the mob and rude people gathered about it and in the yard, in such a rude and turbulent manner, as if they were minded to pull down the house; whereupon we thought it best to remove the meeting into the court yard adjoining, being unwilling the honest man's house should any ways be damaged by that rude crew; and I was resigned in the will of the Lord, rather to be given into their hands, than that the family where we met, should suffer on account of the meeting being there.

"After we were removed into the yard, I was moved to stand up, and in the Name of the Lord, to preach the Truth for near an hour; and the Lord stood by me and strengthened me, so as I was enabled livingly to declare the Truth, with a free resignation also to suffer what violence or evil He should permit the wicked to do, or inflict upon me; for I had often before that time resigned life and liberty for the Gospel's sake.

"While I was declaring the Truth, a man who they said was an inn-keeper, with a rude company after him, rushing violently and furiously, came in, aiming

chiefly to pull me down. The meeting being somewhat crowded, he could not readily get at me; in the mean time, others threw dirt at me, whereby my head and face were greatly daubed, yet I went on declaring the Truth. The furious man still striving to come at me, took up a stool by the feet, and heaving it up to strike such as were in his way, a Friend standing by, caught hold of it as he was making his blow, to prevent the same; yet notwithstanding he gave an ancient woman, a friend of ours, a blow with the edge of it on the side of her head, which made such a wound on her temple, near her eye, that it was thought, if his blow had fallen directly on her head, it might have beaten out her brains; but the Lord providentially prevented that.

"Still the man's fury and rage seemed to be chiefly against me, and his struggle to get at me; so that rather than he should do more mischief, I desired the meeting might make way, that he might come to me; for I was really above the fear of any hurt, he or they could do to me. Then he and his company came, and violently pulled me down; and when I was in their hands, I felt much ease in my spirit, being sensible the Lord was secretly pleading my cause with them, so that their fury was immediately abated, and their spirits down; insomuch that they were restrained from doing me harm; only they haled me out of the meeting, through part of their cathedral church, so termed, there being a passage open; and then they quickly let me go.

"There were some soldiers, as it was said, of Lambert's, or the old army, then quartered in Peterborough, who were spectators, and beheld how I and others were treated and abused, at the said meeting: and some of them took compassion, and had us to one of their quarters; where I washed the dirt off my face.

"Some Friends with me, were then directed into an upper room in the inn, where we sat together, waiting upon the Lord for some time, I think near two hours;

and the Lord comforted and refreshed our spirits; and He put it into my heart to return again to the same house, from which I had been haled away out of the meeting; and several sober people were there gathered together, in the afternoon, and I had a good meeting and service for the Lord, in bearing testimony for his blessed Truth among them; and we held the meeting quietly, and parted peaceably.

"After the meeting was over, I left Peterborough, and some Friends rode with me, and I went away thence much comforted, and refreshed in the Lord my God; having felt his living power and presence with me and my friends, to our preservation, and deliverance out of the hands of unreasonable men; though they had shown their fury and madness against us that day, but were not suffered to do us much harm; except the aforesaid ancient woman friend's being wounded, as before related.

"The same evening, we rode a few miles to an honest friend's house, I think his name was John Mason, who had left the army, received the Truth, and became a serviceable friend."

SECTION VIII.

Restoration of the Monarchy—King Charles's declaration for liberty of conscience.—Remarks on his sincerity.—Fifth-monarchymen.—Proclamation against conventicles, and consequent renewal of persecution.—G. Whitehead's imprisonment with others in Norwich castle; released by the king's proclamation.—Henry Kettle, formerly mayor of Thetford.—Act of Parliament respecting Friends' refusal to take any oath.—The endeavours of Friends to prevent the bill passing the House of Commons.

George Whitehead begins the second part of his "Christian Progress" with devout and grateful acknowledgments of the Lord's power, goodness, and special Providence, evinced in his preservation and deliverance from the will of his enemies, who sought his destruction; and in having strengthened him to perform the work in which he was engaged; so that he says, his spirit was preserved in faith and patience, to obey and serve God with sincere resolution, in the work of the Gospel. "Let my soul forever bless and praise the worthy Name and Power of the Lord my God!"

In the year 1660 the government of the Commonwealth, under which the Society had endured so much persecution, came to an end; and preparations were made for the return of king Charles the second.* The

* The following sketch of the state of the nation at this time, as given by *Rapin*, may not be uninteresting to some readers.

"At the arrival of the king the face of England was entirely changed, and joy, pleasures, public and private rejoicings, succeeded to trouble and consternation. The people were so tired of the life they had led for twenty years past, that they did not believe it possible to be in a worse state. Every one rejoiced to see at least a calm after so long a storm, and expected to enjoy a tranquility sought in vain for so many years. The Royalists and Episcopalians were at once raised to the height of their wishes, in beholding Charles II. on the throne of his ancestors; and the Church of England about to resume her former lustre. The Presbyterians flattered themselves, that their late services for the king, would at least procure them an entire liberty of conscience, and the free ex-

Declaration of liberty to tender consciences, which the king had made from Breda, and which having been presented to the house of peers, was ordered to be published, had doubtless a considerable effect in preparing the minds of some of those who had been in favour of the Commonwealth for the king's return. The following extract is made from this Declaration, which is equally remarkable for the fairness of its promise, and the faithlessness of its execution.

"And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times, have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter be united in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood—We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence."

Whether the king or his advisers were sincere in the professions which were made at this juncture, cannot perhaps be absolutely determined: George Whitehead is inclined to think, that the king was not himself disposed to persecution. It is observable, however, that when it was proposed in Parliament, that the substance of the king's declaration in regard to religious liberty should be embodied in an act, the secretary of state rose and opposed it; and it was in consequence lost. It was not perhaps unnatural to infer from hence, the king's indisposition to the measure of toleration; but when his love of ease and pleasure is taken into ac-

ercise of their religion. The Republicans, Independents, and Anabaptists, could not indeed hope to be restored to the state they had enjoyed so many years, but expected at least an entire impunity, agreeably to the Breda declaration." *Editor.*

count, and the general disinclination of most influential persons of all parties to the granting of general liberty of conscience; we can hardly infer the king's real sentiment from the conduct of his government. If even, as a matter of taste and general feeling, he would have preferred seeing all his subjects worship as they please; as a matter of principle, enervated as his mind must have been by profligate habits, and imbued with popish principles, it is not to be supposed that he would rightly estimate the claims of tender consciences, or have energy to execute what he even desired. If the Episcopalians were now indisposed to toleration, the king would not have forgotten how, when he was in the hands of the Scotch, the latter had made him confess the *sinfulness of toleration in general;* and that just before his restoration, they had sent over a deputation to Holland, to remind him that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the Presbyterian establishment, *without indulgence to sectaries.* He knew also, with how little toleration to others the Independents had exercised their authority; and that there was not any considerable party, whose favour he would obtain by supporting his declaration from Breda. The just principles which the declaration contained, would appear to many, at that time, as dangerous, and perhaps to most as theoretical: so that any abuse of liberty, or ebullition of enthusiastic feeling, would be likely to furnish the alarmists with an argument sufficient to excite popular fears; and thus to give again the reins of government, in ecclesiastical matters, to those who were disposed to drive all, by pains and penalties, into an external uniformity in matters of worship.

Such an occurrence was not long wanting: a few months after the king had ascended the throne, arose the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, a set of persons about thirty-five in number; who, imagining that the one thousand years' reign of Christ, spoken of *Rev.* xx. was just commencing, ran about the streets of

London *well armed*, determined to put down the reign of king Charles; and, applying those words of Scripture to themselves, that "one should chase a thousand," they made their attempt with a degree of fury and violence proportioned to their confidence.

There was not the smallest ground for connecting this mad insurrection with any considerable religious party; and certainly least of all with the poor Quakers, who had suffered so much during the interregnum, and had steadily supported their Christian principle against ALL FIGHTING. Nevertheless, in those evil days, it proved sufficient to excite against dissenters generally, that undistinguishing feeling which is common to weak and ignorant minds; and it gave the court, now under Episcopalian influence, a sufficient pretext for reviving persecution, by the issuing of a proclamation, PROHIBITING all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles, under pretence of religious worship, &c.

The proclamation states: "That some evil effects have already ensued, to the disturbance of the public peace, by insurrection and murder, by reason of the meetings of Anabaptists, and Quakers, and Fifth-monarchy-men, and such like appellations, &c.

"And to the intent that none of these persons, who have presumed to make so ill an use of our indulgence, may be strengthened in such their proceedings, &c.

"No meeting whatsoever of the persons aforesaid, under pretence of worshipping God, shall at any time hereafter be permitted and allowed; unless it be in some parochial church or chapel in this realm, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting; and that all meetings and assemblies whatsoever, in order to any spiritual worship and serving of God, by the persons aforesaid, unless in the places aforesaid, shall be esteemed, and are hereby declared to be unlawful assemblies, and shall be prosecuted accordingly: and the persons therein assembled, shall be proceeded against, as riotously and unlawfully assembled, &c.

"And we do will and command our justices, that they cause the oath of allegiance to be tendered to every person, so brought before them, &c."

"Hereupon," says the narrative, "the most irreligious and profane sort of people were animated, and took occasion against our religious and peaceable meetings, eagerly to endeavour to suppress them; being encouraged by the new justices and magistrates, then got into commission. The vile and profane, and most wicked of all sorts, being lifted up and exalted in their spirits, upon the restoration of the king and his accession to the crown, were then triumphant and insulting against all religious dissenters; and especially threatening the Quakers, and their meetings, with ruin, &c.* And see-

* Whatever might have been the vices of the Commonwealth, certain it is that the restoration of monarchy opened the very floodgates of vice.

"With the restoration of the king," says Burnet, "a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought in with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the cover of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where." And speaking of the first session of Parliament after the king's return, he says: "It was a mad, roaring time, full of extravagance: and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk."

Edward Burrough at this time published a work, dedicated to all rulers in the Christian world; in which, "with sound arguments," says Sewel, "he manifested the unlawfulness and injustice of persecution—from whence it had its rise—and how dangerous it was to impose religion."

George Fox the younger, who was then a prisoner, addressed a very plain and forcible expostulation to the king, on account of the vices which prevailed under his sanction, and the disposition which he thought he saw to restore popery. The following passages will show the innocent courage of the writer, in these arbitrary days: "The King of kings hath beheld! yea, the King of kings hath seen even all thy actings in the dark; and He hath traced thy walking in obscure places; and thou hast not hid thy counsels from the Almighty; but He hath seen all the intents of thy heart, and thy good words have not at all deceived Him, nor those that purely stood in his counsel."

"Thou hast highly displeased the Lord God, by thy suffering persecution to be acted in thy name, even whilst thou in words

ing what a great flood of wickedness and debauchery was broken forth, and religion and virtue despised, we then expected no other but severe and hard treatment from our persecutors, whose hearts were set in them to endeavour our ruin, or to root us out of the land: dark clouds then appearing, and threatening a great storm.

"Insomuch that at a certain time, when I was travelling alone on the high-way, and in earnest supplication to the Lord, and spreading our case and my complaint before Him, in deep humility and contrition of spirit, I said in my heart and in expressions: 'O Lord!

hast promised liberty; yea, many are this day in holes and prisons, for the testimony of a good conscience, and obeying the doctrine of Christ. Oh! the Lord is grieved with the pride and wickedness that is lived in, both in thy family and dominions; and thou thyself hast not been such a pattern and example amongst them as thou oughtest to have been. Oh, friend! when I behold the wickedness, cruelty, and oppression, that abound in this nation in open view, and also the secret abominations which are committed, and are plotting and lurking in the chambers; verily, my life is even bowed down because of the fierce wrath of the Almighty which I see is kindled, and because of the great destruction which I see attends the wicked; whose ends and counsels the Lord will frustrate, and upon whom He will pour out everlasting contempt. Yea, and it hath been oft in me, before thou camest last into the land and since, even when it hath been shown me what idolatry is intended in secret to be brought in; that certainly it had been better for thee that thou hadst never come; for I have seen it tending to thy destruction. And when I have seen the abomination and cruelties which are committed and intended, there hath a pity arose in me towards thee for thy soul's sake; and it hath been my desire, if it might stand with the will of God, that He would put it into thy heart to go out of the land again, that so thy life might be preserved, and that thou mightest have time to repent: for although many men flatter and applaud thee for self ends, yet the Lord is displeased with thy ways. Let no man deceive thee by feigned words. God will not be mocked: such as thou sowest, such must thou reap. Thou canst not hide thyself from the Lord; nor deliver thyself from the stroke of his hand."

The king is said to have read this faithful warning with attention. The duke of York, who also read it, was very indignant, and urged the king to punish the writer; to which he replied good naturedly: "*It were better for us to mend our lives.*"—*Sewel's Hist. p.* 497—501 vol. i. 8*vo. edit.* *Editor.*

this wicked persecuting spirit, that is got up and let loose, will seek to lay waste, and root thy heritage and people out of the land: Oh! Lord, plead our cause; plead the cause of Thy people, Thy seed and heritage.' Whereupon the Lord gave me this answer, viz.

"'The wicked shall not have their evil designs accomplished, against my people; I will frustrate their wicked purposes; they shall not root my heritage out of the land, though they be suffered for a time to persecute and try my people; I will stand by and defend, and in due time deliver them,' &c. Yea, and to this purpose, and much more of the same tendency, has the Lord often livingly signified and revealed to me, by his Holy Spirit, even in times of deep suffering and trials; that under them, or any of them, I might not faint nor be discouraged; but still believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, where praises ever live to Him.

"After the aforesaid insurrection, and the said proclamation was issued out; then persecution, outrage, and violence, quickly broke out in the land; then the roaring, raging, busy persecutors bestirred themselves, to hunt up and down after religious meetings, assemblies, and congregations, which they unjustly termed seditious conventicles, to break up and disperse them, and cause many to be imprisoned and confined in nasty jails; where great numbers of innocent persons then suffered, in most counties of England and Wales, especially of the people called Quakers; whose meetings were most apparent and open, and most easily come at.

"Our Friends were not wanting to plead and make known their innocent cause, to the king and government, both by word and writing;* and to show how

* There was, at this time, about one thousand five hundred Friends in prison; and Neal, in his history of the Puritans, says, that on the Quakers representing to the king their peaceable and harmless character, "he promised them, *on the word of a king*, that they should not suffer for their opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his word was little regarded."

clear their religious meetings were, from any sedition, plots, conspiracies, or contriving of insurrections against the government or nation; and consequently no such meetings are by law deemed conventicles, unlawful, or riotous meetings. So that those persecutions and punishments, inflicted upon us because of other men's crimes, appeared to be no small perversion of justice, as well as injury done to many hundreds of honest industrious families; whose innocent cause the Lord in his own time pleaded in those days; and since hath not been wanting to stand by, and help his faithful people in their times of need."

In these days of persecution George Whitehead bore his share of suffering. He gives the following account of his commitment to Norwich castle, with three other Friends, viz. John and Joseph Lawrence and William Barber. "With many more of our Friends, being peaceably met together for the worship and service of God, at a meeting at Pulham-Mary, Norfolk, while we were calling upon the Lord in prayer, one in the place of a chief constable, with a company of horsemen and footmen, without warrant from any justice, came with halberts, pistols, swords, pitchforks, clubs, and hedge-stakes, and haled us and other of our Friends out of the said meeting; and the next day we were carried on horseback several miles, and had before one Thomas Talbot, justice of peace, near Wymondham, who committed us to prison upon information which the constable gave him in writing, touching the said meeting; wherein we were falsely accused of being unlawfully met together. There appeared none to prove the

Burnet's character of him was but too often illustrated by his conduct to the suffering Friends; though it must be allowed he did, in some instances, render them services. "He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises, in which he was liberal to excess; because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities, and to silence all further pressing upon him." *Editor.*

charge against us; nevertheless we were next day sent to Norwich castle.

"Persecution being then generally stirred up against our Friends throughout the nation, most prisons were filled with them, because of their religious meetings. Many of them were committed to Norwich castle; and their meetings disturbed, and broken up, from one end of the county to the other, and likewise in the city of Norwich; insomuch that about thirty were then crowded in that old nasty jail. And there being a hole in a corner of the castle wall, called the vice, we, the four Friends before mentioned, betook ourselves to it, to lodge in; though a poor, narrow hole, without any chimney in it; yet there we got up two little beds, and lodged two in each. Having an old decayed stone arch over it, the rain came so much in upon us, that we could not well keep it off our beds, though we set dishes or basons to keep off what we could. In the cold of winter we burnt a little charcoal in evenings, which we found somewhat injurious and suffocating, having no vent for the smoke or steam; and in the day time, we endeavoured often to keep ourselves warm, by walking upon the castle hill, and under the wall, being within the liberty of the prison; and though it was a cold bleak place in winter, we were glad that we had that benefit of the air.

"Yet we chose this hole in the wall for our lodging, partly for the ease of our other Friends, who were too much crowded in a better room below. We had many good and comfortable meetings together, without disturbance; several friendly persons being let into prison to meet with us, on first-days especially; insomuch, that at that time the prison became a sanctuary to us; as prisons and jails were to many of our poor innocent suffering Friends, when persecution was hot and persecutors raging and roaring abroad; and we praying, and praising the Lord our God, in prisons, jails, and holes.

"Our said Friends, William Barber and John Law-

rence, having been men of note, and captains in the Commonwealth's day, it appeared in them great self-denial and subjection to the cross of Christ, patiently so to suffer for his name and Truth's sake.

"In the time of that imprisonment in Norwich castle, near the latter end of winter, or about the beginning of the first month, 1661, I was taken sick of an ague and fever; which brought me so low and weak, that some Friends who came to visit me were ready to take their last leave of me, thinking I should die in that prison.

"The time for our appearing at the spring assizes at Thetford drawing near, I believed I should be enabled to ride thither; for we were all to appear who were prisoners for our religious meetings. And in order to my going to the assizes, my horse was brought to the prison door, three days before the assizes began. I rode with John Lawrence to his house at Wramplingham, on the seventh day of the week, it being five or six miles on my way toward Thetford; and stayed there the next day and night following; and then we took horse for Thetford, being about twenty miles from Norwich. The weather being cold, a hail-shower took us, and I was again taken with a fit of the ague on the road, before we got to Thetford; yet with the Lord's help, I held on, and grew better by the time we came to Thetford; and that same afternoon, could readily walk up to the top of that noted mount or hill, which is by the town. We met the rest of our Friends, who came from Norwich castle, at Thetford prison; where we were in the day time, after the assizes began; but at night had liberty to lodge at our Friends' houses, in or near the town.

"Judge Hale and judge Windham were the two justices who served at the same assizes, and judge Windham sat on the crown side; who in his charge terribly threatened dissenters, and such as would not go to the parish church and conform, or that kept conventicles or unlawful meetings; giving the country notice of

divers ancient penal severe laws made against such, and causing some of them to be read in court; as an ancient Friend, Elizabeth Hawes, then living at Snare Hill near Thetford, gave me a full account with tears, after she had heard the said charge; she being very sorrowful to see how they were bent on persecution. To encourage her, I signified the Lord would plead our cause and stand by us; and I would have no Friends discouraged, but be faithful to the Lord and valiant for the Truth upon earth.

"I was called four times into court before the assizes were over; and particularly questioned, for what cause I came into that country from my own; to which I gave the Judges a sober and conscientious account, that I was called of the Lord to preach repentance and to bear testimony to the truth, against hypocrisy, sin, and wickedness.

"Being required to take the oath of allegiance, I told the judges, that Christ hath commanded us not to swear at all, *Matt.* v.; and his apostle James, who well knew the mind of Christ, exhorted: 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation.' *James* v. 12. From whence I inferred, if we may not swear by any other oath, then not by the oath of allegiance. Therefore I cannot swear at all, nor take any oath; either that of allegiance or any other. The judges did not dispute the point; but seeing that I and the rest of our Friends, then prisoners, were all of a mind in that case, that we all refused to swear, choosing rather to suffer for conscience, we were remanded to the prison in Thetford.

"Before the assizes were ended, some of us were again called into court; and an indictment read against me, and some others of us, stuffed with false and bitter accusations and invectives, because we refused to take the oath of allegiance; that being the snare then generally laid against us; for which we were accused and

charged with wilfulness, obstinacy, and contempt against the king, his crown and dignity, and such like undue and injurious charges. Being required to plead guilty or not guilty, I began to distinguish upon the indictment, that something of it was true, that we refused to take the said oath, but it was not out of any contempt and obstinacy against the king or government, but innocently for conscience' sake, in obedience to Christ's command. Judge Windham urging us to plead guilty, or not guilty, thereby to prevent me from further speaking, to open our case or plead our innocency, I waved pleading in those terms unless he would suffer me to plead specially, with distinction, on the several parts of the charge, in order to manifest the inconsistency thereof, and our clearness and innocence who were the sufferers. The said judge then grew offended, because I was not willing to be confined only to plead guilty or not guilty; and he was for having me taken away and remanded to prison; whereupon I returned him this answer; that Paul, when a prisoner, was permitted to plead and speak for himself before king Agrippa, *Acts* xxvi. and before the Roman or heathen magistrates and rulers. It is therefore a hard case we may not be suffered to be heard, or plead for ourselves before you, who profess yourselves to be Christian magistrates. Whereupon the Judge appeared angry; and I was quickly removed out of court. 'Take him away gaoler,' was such a knocking argument in those days, that it must not be disputed: yet judge Hale behaved himself more mildly and gently toward us.

"It was observed, that when several of us the prisoners were called into court together, some of the country justices on the bench would be accusing us, to judge Windham, to incense him against us, and especially against John Hubbard, sen. of Stoke-Ferry in Norfolk, and others, for receiving and entertaining the Quakers and their preachers at their houses. Whereupon John Hubbard, seeing the envy of those persecutors and accusers, who would make him an offender for entertaining stran-

gers as the apostle taught, *Heb.* xiii. 2, was stirred up in zeal to answer his accusers, and plead a good conscience toward God and man, as being known to be an honest man fearing God, &c. which he testifying in a good life, with zeal and courage, gave a check and put some stop to his accuser at that time, from proceeding in his accusations against the innocent prisoners. But it was no strange thing in those days, for a sort of ill natured persecuting justices, to be both accusers and judges upon the bench, against our Friends; and also, like invidious informers, to endeavour to incense the judges against us, by unjust insinuations and undue accusations; with intent to stir up prejudice and hard usage against us, and often to prejudge us and our case, before judicially heard and tried.

"Although in the time of the said assizes at Thetford, the persecuting spirit was eagerly at work in our adversaries, I daily felt the Lord's power over all; whereby I and my fellow-prisoners were supported, strengthened, and preserved in innocency and great peace, to the praise of our most gracious God. And although I could expect no other, but our persecutors would be suffered to strengthen and prolong our bonds, at least against some of us, whom they designed to make terrifying examples; yet I was not at all discouraged, nor dejected in spirit, under that persecution; but returned cheerfully to prison, to Norwich castle, and was better every way as to my health and strength, than when I came out from thence, to go to the assizes at Thetford.

"This was and is to me a memorable token of the merciful Providence of God; that although I had been very weak and sick in prison in the said castle but a few days before, and rode to Thetford assizes in a weak condition; yet while I was attending upon the assizes, I was so much recovered in my health, that my ague and fever were quite removed, and I had not the return of one fit all the time of that imprisonment; but

was restored to perfect health, which continued for several years after.

"Six of us, to whom the oath was tendered, and that were indicted, were, with some others, remanded prisoners to the said castle, and continued prisoners about sixteen weeks. The rest were released; being mostly labouring men, farmers, and tradesmen; our persecutors having picked out such whom they sent back to prison, as they esteemed to be the most eminent among the Quakers; as the said John Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, William Barber, Henry Kettle, sen. and jun., John Hubbard, and several others, because of their love and kindness to their Friends, and entertaining meetings at their houses.

"Our release was obtained by the king's proclamation of grace, as it was termed; wherein, notwithstanding his grace or favour thereby expressed towards the Quakers, &c. it was not without a menace or threat, i. e. not intending their impunity if they should offend in the future, in like manner as they had done, &c. which was chiefly by their religious meetings, intended only for the worship of the living God, according to their consciences and persuasions; and for this cause our impunity was not intended, as afterward in a short time it more fully appeared.

"One thing, by the way, I may not omit some account of. When we were together in Thetford prison, in order to appear at the assizes, I met with Henry Kettle the elder, a prisoner there; who was an ancient man, and had been mayor of the town and a justice of peace, before he was in communion with us. And after he had received our Friends and had meetings at his house, having a love to Truth and us, he was committed to prison; where he and I walking together in the prison yard, he opened his condition and exercise to me how he was beset with relations, and pressed to take the oath of allegiance; otherwise they feared he and his family would be ruined: whereupon the trial came the harder on him, considering his own weakness.

However, he tenderly told me, he had considered Christ's words: 'No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God;' concluding therefore, he must not look back or decline from the Truth.

"I was very glad to hear him voluntarily give such a tender account, both of his trial and good resolution; having well understood his weakness, and how considerable a time he had been wavering and halting in his mind; and how hard it was for him, being a person of great note, to give up to the cross of Christ, so as to endure reproach and persecution for Christ Jesus and his Truth. Yet now when he was given up and resigned to suffer for Christ, he was assisted, and strengthened rather to suffer with the rest of us, than to lose his inward peace, by declining Truth's testimony. He was, contrary to law, removed from Hetford, the corporation where his residence and dwelling was, to the county gaol in Norwich castle; where his son Henry was detained prisoner, with the rest of us who had been and were then prisoners.

"At the ensuing quarter-sessions held at Norwich, the said Henry Kettle the elder was called into the court of sessions; where, to ensnare him, he was required to take the oath of allegiance, with endeavours to impose it upon him. But he stood firm and would not be imposed on; telling the justices, that he was removed out of his own respective corporation to which he belonged, contrary to law; and therefore was unduly brought before them in that court. It was a breach of his and the corporation's privilege, to remove him thence to that quarter-sessions, to be prosecuted or tried, and expressly contrary to Magna Charta; whereby the liberties and privileges of corporations are to be upheld and maintained, and not violated.

"I and another fellow-prisoner being then on the castle hill, heard him plead after this manner and hold them closely to the point. But instead of answering him legally, or vindicating their proceeding by law,

they still obtruded and imposed upon him, saying: 'It is no matter, it is no matter how you came here; that is not our business to enquire after: but now you are here, we have power to tender you the oath. Mr Kettle, will you take the oath of allegiance, aye or no?'

"He answered: 'Let me be returned back to my own corporation, the town of Thetford, and there I may answer.' But otherwise he esteemed himself not bound to answer in that court of sessions, held for the county of Norfolk.

"This account is the substance of the procedure against Henry Kettle, at that time; and when the justices could not by persuasion or menaces, prevail with him to swear or take the said oath, they returned him to the castle gaol, to remain prisoner with the rest of us.

"His prosecutors were not suffered to bring him under the judgment and penalty of a premunire, any more than the rest of us, who were prosecuted in order thereto; but all discharged by the proclamation aforesaid.

"It was but for a short time after we were set at liberty, that we could enjoy our religious meetings quietly; the irreligious, persecuting spirit being at work in the nation among priests and magistrates, who would have all compelled to go to church and conform, for all to be of one religion;* when there was but little of the life, substance, or purity of religion designed in the case; but rather empty form, ceremony, and an outward show and pretence, to palliate covetousness, pride, manifold corruptions, and fleshly liberty, then abounding and more and more manifest. The libertines of those days boastingly telling us: you must all go to church, or else you must lose your estates; or you must be hanged, or banished, &c. With many such threats and cruel mockings; yet still it was a stay to us, and sure ground of faith and hope, that we knew Him in

* The idol of uniformity has been the *Moloch* of the Christian Church.

whom we livingly believed and hoped for salvation and strength.

"So hasty and precipitant was the persecuting spirit, and eager to be at work, and that too under some colour or pretence of law, that in the first Parliament chosen after the king's restoration, they soon contrived a bill for suppressing our meetings; and divers of the persons chosen to be members of that Parliament being persecutors, that party swayed and carried it by vote; insomuch that the bill was committed, and at last passed into an act, entitled,

"*An act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths.**

* The substance of the act was as follows; "Whereas of late times, certain persons under the names of Quakers, and other names of separation, have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and among others that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God: and the said persons do daily refuse to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens that truth is wholly suppressed, and the administration of justice much obstructed.

"And whereas the said persons, under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers, in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence among themselves, and in the mean time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and loyal subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of Divine Worship. It is enacted,

"That if five or more Quakers, of sixteen years of age, or upward, assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship, not authorised by law;

"The party offending, being convicted by verdict, confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall forfeit for the first offence, the sum imposed, not exceeding five pounds: and for the second, the sum imposed, not exceeding ten pounds, to be levied by distress, and sale of the goods: and for want thereof, or non-payment within a week after conviction, shall be committed to the gaol, or house of correction; for the first offence, three months; for the second, six months, to be kept at hard labour: and if after two convictions, they offend the third time, and are convicted, they shall abjure the realm, or the king may order them to be transported in any ship, to any of his plantations."

"This act was levelled against the people called Quakers, when nothing was justly chargeable against them, but what concerned religion and worship toward Almighty God, according to their conscientious persuasions; therefore it was purely for serving and worshipping Him according to our consciences, that we did suffer greatly by the said act for a time.

"Some of us, viz. Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and myself, having notice and understanding the matter contained therein; when it was formed into a bill, attended the Parliament and solicited against the same, that it might not be passed into an act; discoursing many of the members, and showing them how unreasonable and injurious it would be, to pass such an act against us an innocent people: our religious assemblies being peaceable, and only intended for the worship of Almighty God, according to our consciences; and in no wise tending to the terror of the public, in appearance or action.

"When the said bill was committed, we did at sundry times attend the committee, on the 10th and 13th days of the 5th month, 1661; and each of us were permitted to appear, and our reasons to be heard before the same, concerning the bill, why it should not pass against us.

"What I declared to the committee, I kept this account of, viz. the first time I signified, 'that our meetings are for the worship of God, which really is a matter of conscience, and of great weight to us; and that which in tenderness of conscience to Christ's command we practise, for no other end but singly for the worship and service of God, according to the example and practice of primitive saints and Christians; and that we behaved ourselves peaceably towards all men: therefore therein we ought to have the liberty of our consciences, according to the king's promises of liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion, &c.

"'And that if we suffer for our peaceable, harmless meetings, we suffer for the cause of God, and shall com-

mit our cause to Him, and know that He will plead and avenge it against our persecutors;' or to the same effect, exhorting them to act in the fear of God; with other words of concernment to them.

"The second time we were before the said committee, I told them as concerning our meetings, against which their intended law chiefly was, that we met together in the Name and fear of the Lord God, and in obedience to Him as the saints of old did; so that they might as well go about to make a law, that we should not pray in the name of Christ Jesus, as to make one to hinder or suppress our meetings, which are in his name; and from which we may no more refrain, than Daniel could forbear praying to the true God, though it was contrary to king Darius's decree.

"One called Sir John Goodrick, being one of the committee, stood up and most busily inveighed against us; accusing our meetings, calling them unlawful, tending to seduce people from the church, and to seduce such as are orthodox, and the like.

"To which I answered: 'That if our meetings be contrary to law, then that implies there is some law which they are contrary to; and if so, it seems superfluous and needless for you to go about to make another; but no such thing, we hope, can be proved against us, as that our meetings are unlawful in themselves; being in obedience to the Lord our God, only for his worship, and agreeable to the practice of the primitive Christians, recorded in the Scriptures of Truth; such meetings are not unlawful, and such are ours as we can prove.

"And if your intended law come to be put in execution against us, it may produce sad sufferings upon thousands of innocent people in the nation, and endanger the ruin of many families; and the loss of some lives; (and so it did, by persecution and imprisonments;) and of what a bad report will this be, that an innocent people should thus be oppressed for their con-

sciences, when no matter of fact, or crime worthy of suffering can be proved against them.

"And further, if this intended law be effected against us, it will elevate and strengthen wicked, malicious, and lawless persons, to take occasion to persecute us beyond the law; as they have lately done, when great numbers of us were imprisoned upon the king's proclamation, for meeting together; some of our Friends were taken out of their beds by rude fellows, and committed to prison; and some poor men were taken from their callings, and from their poor families whom they were to maintain, and sent to prison; and others taken travelling on the king's highway, about their lawful occasions, and committed to prison, contrary to law and the king's proclamation. Now if you make a law to cause us to suffer for our peaceable meetings, how much more will rude and lawless persons thereby take encouragement, to act their cruelty and persecution against us, both beyond and contrary to what the law requires; and it is not your intended law, that will satisfy that malicious spirit.

"'These things I leave to your serious consideration.'

"Having not a particular or full account in writing what my friends Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn, declared to that committee, I cannot insert the same with mine; but I remember the last time we were before the committee, Edward Burrough told them to this purport: 'That if they made a law against our religious meetings, he should esteem it his duty to exhort our Friends to keep their meetings diligently.'

"Notwithstanding what is before related, to the said committee against the bill, they went forward being intent upon it, in order to make their report to the whole House; and we being given to understand what day the bill was to be read in the House, were concerned to attend that day; and to endeavour to obtain leave to be heard in the House, before it was passed into an act.

"The day appointed, being the 19th of the 5th month, called July, 1661, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and myself, with Edward Pyott of Bristol, who had been a captain, went to the Parliament House, and spake to some of the members, whom we knew were friendly to us, to move for our admittance to be heard in the House, before the bill was passed; for which we gave them in writing, a proposal to this purpose, viz.: 'That we desired to have the liberty that criminals are allowed; that is, if they have any thing to say or offer in court, why sentence should not pass against them, they may be heard; so we desire that we may be heard, what we have to say why the said bill ought not to pass against us.'

"Whereupon a motion being made in the House, and leave given that we might be called in and heard, accordingly we were forthwith called in before the bar of the House of Commons; there being a full house, and all in a quiet posture ready to hear what we had to offer.

"As Edward Burrough began to plead in vindication of the Quakers' meetings, on occasion of the bill before them, against the same, some of the members said to him; 'You must direct your speech to Mr. Speaker.' He told them, he would. The point he chiefly insisted upon was, 'that our meetings were no ways to the terror of the people, as was suggested in the preamble of the bill; but peaceable, innocent meetings, only for the worship and service of Almighty God, and as we are required by the law of God, placed in our hearts and consciences, which they ought not to make any law against. No human law ought to be made contrary to the law of God; for if they did make any such law, it would not be binding to us to disobey the law of God.' For which he mentioned and quoted that ancient law book, 'Doctor and Student,' which he had then in his hand; where, treating of the law of God, the law of reason, &c. written in the heart of man, it is said; 'Because it is written in the heart, it may not be put

away, neither is it ever changeable by diversity of place nor time; and therefore against this law, prescription, statute, or custom may not prevail; and if any be brought in against it, they be not prescriptions, statutes, nor customs, but things void and against justice.'

"Wherefore Edward Burrough told them: 'That if they made such a law against our meetings, which are appointed for the worship of God, it would be contrary to the law of God and void, or ought to be void, ipso facto.'

"This was the import or substance of what Edward Burrough pleaded to the House at that time.

"And what Richard Hubberthorn pleaded and argued, was upon this point, viz,: 'It being suggested that we being numerous, and holding a close or strict correspondence among ourselves, our meetings might be the more dangerous, to contrive and cause insurrections, &c. as is implied in the preamble of the bill.'

"To which Richard Hubberthorn gave a fair and ingenuous answer: 'That there could be no such danger in our meetings, as the contrivance of insurrections or plots against the government; for our meetings being public, where all sorts of people may resort, and come to hear and see what is said or done, it is not likely nor probable, we should plot or contrive insurrections in them, in the sight of the whole world. And if our meetings should be reduced into such small numbers, as but four or five persons besides those of the family, it could not break our correspondence; but we should have more opportunity privately to correspond, and to plot and contrive insurrection or mischief, if we were a people of such bad principles, or so evilly principled, which we are not. Therefore it is most reasonable to suffer our meetings to be public as they are, and not to punish us on causeless suspicion of danger, when there appears no reason for the same; nor to make a law to limit them to small numbers.'

"George Whitehead then said: 'We desire you in

the fear of the Lord, to consider us, as we are, an innocent and suffering people, and have been so under the several governments, since we were a people; as our patience and innocency towards our persecutors, in all our sufferings, have plainly manifested; for both under Oliver Cromwell and since his days, have we endured much hard suffering, persecution, and imprisonment, for our conscience; and yet we have not rebelled, nor sought revenge against our persecutors; but in all our undeserved sufferings, have committed our cause to the Lord.

"'And therefore, what an unreasonable thing is it, that a law should particularly be made against us, when we have done no evil, nor any injury against any man's person; nor could any such thing be proved against us, in respect to our meetings, that ever we were found guilty of; so that for you to make a law against us, tending to our ruin, and to go about to trample us underfoot, when we are innocent and peaceable in the nation, and no matter of fact worthy of suffering proved against us; will neither be to the honour of the king, nor add any thing to your security.

"'Nay, what a hard thing is it, for you to make a law to add afflictions and sad sufferings upon us, when there are divers laws already, whereby we are liable to suffer, as those for tithes, oaths, and others; so that to make another law to afflict us, when nothing worthy of suffering is proved, seems to us very hard and unreasonable.

"'And moreover we have neither forfeited our liberties, nor abused the king's indulgence, in any thing acted by us. And the king having promised liberty to tender consciences, on condition they do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and we not having forfeited our interest therein, therefore ought not to be hindered of our liberty, in matters of worship and conscience towards God. We can prove that our practice of assembling ourselves together, and our principles also, are grounded upon the righteous law of God, and agree-

able to Christ's doctrine; and we are willing to vindicate and demonstrate them, according to Truth, if we might have liberty here; and that for the satisfaction of such as oppose or scruple them.

"'In the fear of the Lord consider what you are doing, and seek not farther to add affliction to us, lest you oppress the innocent. However if we suffer, we shall commit our cause to the Lord our God, who will, no doubt, plead it against our oppressors.'

"After Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead* had declared to the House of Commons, according as before related; Edward Pyott was also permitted to speak a few words to them, which he very weightily did on this subject; namely, reminding them of that golden rule, which Jesus Christ has laid down and requires us all to observe, which is: 'To do to all men as we would be willing they should do unto us;' thereupon cautioning them, that as they would not be persecuted, oppressed or made to suffer for their religion or conscience, or have a law made for that purpose against them: no more ought they to make a law against us, to punish us for worshipping God according to our consciences or inward persuasions. This matter Edward Pyott pressingly urged to them.

"We appeared and declared what was upon our minds, in great simplicity and sincerity; and the Lord's power and presence was with us, and helped us in our endeavours; and I saw clearly, that what we declared innocently to them, had some effect upon and reached the consciences of divers of the members, who appeared serious and also sober in their carriage toward us. For I afterward had intimation, that some of the members did confess, that what we had declared was very reasonable; and if they had feared God or regarded his counsel, and suffered Him to rule among them, they would not have made that act against us.

* Geo. Whitehead was at this time about twenty four years of age.

"But we had only a very few in that Parliament, who appeared openly to be our friends; or friends for liberty to tender consciences in those days; namely, Edmund Waller, sen. esq. who was termed, Wit Waller; he was principled against persecution, and for liberty of conscience, and always kind to us; and one Michael Mallett, esq. who afterward was convinced of the Truth; and frequented our meetings even in suffering times, when our meetings were kept out of doors in the streets, in Westminster and London. And Sir John Vaughan, then a young man, appeared also for us; and afterward was convinced of the Truth, and went to our meetings when we were persecuted upon the conventicle act, and was imprisoned in Newgate with our Friends, for a little time, being taken at a meeting at Mile-end. He continued afterward among our Friends, and visited us in prison; and though at length some of his relations drew him aside, to his great prejudice, yet he retained a kindness even when he came to be Earl of Carbery; and continued friendly to us, when he was an old man and until his latter end; not wholly forgetting what conviction and knowledge of the Truth he received when among us.

"There were also some few more of the members of that Parliament friendly towards us at that time, when we appeared before them. Howbeit the majority being resolved and bent to persecution, they passed the said bill into an act: upon which great persecution and imprisonments followed.*

* Neal, in his history of the Puritans, speaking of this circumstance says: "Among others who were obnoxious to the ministry were Quakers, who having declared openly the unlawfulness of making use of carnal weapons even in self defence, had the courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing upon the most solemn occasions was forbidden in the New Testament. The lords in a

committee rejected their petition, and instead of granting them relief, passed an act, which had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from sedition or disaffection to the government." After mentioning the suffering state of the Quakers at this time, he truly adds: "But this was but the beginning of sorrows." Vol. ii. p. 511 and 512.

SECTION IX.

George Whitehead's own account of persecutions in London in 1662 to 1664—An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles—Persecution in London 1665—He visits the northern counties, &c. and returns to London—Remains there during the plague.

* "In the year 1662, our meetings in and about London were broken up by force and violence, by the

* We cannot have too strongly impressed upon our minds, the sacrifices made by our early Friends for those principles and practices which we now profess and pursue in peace and credit. I shall therefore insert here a few more particulars which George Whitehead does not furnish, from the faithful annalist of the Society, Sewel: "A little before this time there was published in print, a short relation of the persecution throughout all England, signed by twelve persons, showing that more than four thousand two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison in England; and denoting the number of them that were imprisoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or for denying to swear, &c. Many of these had been grievously beaten, or their clothes torn or taken away from them; and some were put into such stinking dungeons, that some great men said, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some prisons were crowded full both of men and women, so that there was not sufficient room for all to sit down at once; and in Cheshire, sixty-eight persons were in this manner locked up in a small room; an evident sign that they were a harmless people, that would neither make any resistance, nor use any force.

"By such ill treatment many grew sick; and not a few died in such gaols; for no age or sex was regarded; but even ancient people of sixty, seventy, and more years of age, were not spared: and the most of these being tradesmen, shop-keepers, and husbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty; for their goods were also seiz- for not going to church, or for not paying tithes.

"Many times they were fain to be in prison, on cold, nasty ground, without being suffered to have any straw, and often they have been kept several days without victuals: no wonder therefore, that many died by such hard imprisonments as these.

"In London, and in the suburbs, were, about this time, no less than five hundred of those called Quakers imprisoned; and some in such narrow holes, that every person scarcely had convenience

trained bands and officers: especially on the First days of the week; which though professed to be their Christian Sabbaths, no holiness was observed, but rending and tearing innocent people out of their religious assemblies, and haling them to prison: such furious work of persecution they commonly wrought on that day they pretend to be their Christian Sabbath, and the Lord's day, and to be kept holy, &c. as Israel was required to observe and keep the Seventh-day for the Sabbath, according to the fourth commandment. Yet these our persecutors made no conscience of violating and profaning their professed Sabbath; by such their works of violence and persecution, yea, even after an act of Parliament was made, for the better observation of the Lord's day. Those self-condemned pretended Christians, in many places furiously went on in their persecution and cruelty, against their fellow-creatures and honest neighbours, without regard to God, or religious worship, or any day; to the great reproach and scandal of the profession of Christianity.

to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money.

"Many that were not imprisoned, nevertheless suffered hardships in their religious meetings, especially that in London, known by the name of *Bull and Mouth*. Here the trained band came frequently, armed generally with muskets, pikes, and halbards, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magistracy; and rushing in, in a very furious manner, fell to beating them, whereby many were grievously wounded, fell down in a swoon, and some were beaten so violently, that they lived not long after it."—*Sewel 2 vol. 7th Book, p.* 1 and 2.

Nor, in these disastrous days were the persecuted Quakers secure in their private dwellings, "for when some persons were seen to enter a house though it was only to visit their friends it was called a meeting. It happened in one house, that these rude fellows, (musketeers,) found five persons together one of whom was William Ames, who was come thither out of Holland; and another was Samuel Fisher, and when it was demanded what warrant they had, they held up their swords, and said: 'Do not ask us for a warrant; this is our warrant;' and thereupon they took these persons to Paul's yard, where they were a laughing stock to the soldiers, and thence to alderman Brown, who sent them to Bridewell to be kept to hard labour." *p.* 10.

"Pursuant to the aforesaid act, as was pretended, my beloved brethren Richard Hubberthorn, and Edward Burrough, with myself, and many more of our faithful Friends, were haled out of meetings, and imprisoned in Newgate, London; where so many of us were crowded together both in that called justice hall side, and in the chapel side of the prison, that we were hard put to it for lodging room.

"The chapel was on the top of Newgate, where many Friends lay in hammocks crowded; and Richard Hubberthorn and I lay on a small pallet bed, in a little hole or closet behind the chapel and opening into it so as the breath and steam of those that lay next us in the chapel, came much upon us. We chose to lodge on the chapel side, for the encouragement of many of the poorer sort of Friends, who were there, and that they might not be offended or troubled, as we thought they might, if we had taken up our lodging among the richer sort of our friends, on justice hall side. We had many good meetings in the chapel; and the Lord was with us to our great comfort and encouragement, in his name and Power, for whose sake we suffered patiently.

"It being in summer time and a hot season, when we were thus crowded in prison, some of our friends fell sick of a violent fever, whereof some died; and were viewed by the coroner's inquest: and when some were removed out of prison by reason of sickness, they quickly ended their days, after their close confinement.

"In those days of hot persecution, Sir Richard Brown * was chief persecutor in London and gloried

* "In the time of Cromwell," says Sewel, "Brown had been a major general in the army, and was very fierce against the Royalists at Abingdon not far from Oxford; and for this error he endeavoured to make compensation, by violently persecuting the harmless Quakers. He was a comely man, and could commit cruelty with a smiling countenance." His personal cruelty to the prisoners who were brought before him, surpasses the ordinary actings even of those days. The following may serve as a specimen of his frequent conduct.

much in his persecuting and imprisoning our Friends; insulting over them. One time when several of us were called into the court of sessions in the Old Bailey, one Friend was moved to testify against their persecuting and oppressing the righteous seed and people of God, calling out unto the magistrates on the bench: 'How long will ye oppress the righteous seed,' &c. with other words, on the same subject. While he was so speaking, the said Sir Richard Brown in derision,

"Some soldiers came to a meeting in Tower street, and without any warrant took away twenty-one persons called Quakers, and carried them to the exchange; where they kept them some time, and then brought them before Richard Brown, who, in a most furious manner, struck some, and kicked others; which made one of the prisoners, seeing how Brown smote one with his fist, and kicked him on the shin, say: 'What, Richard, wilt thou turn murderer! Thou didst not do so when I was a soldier under thy command at Abingdon; when thou commandedst me and others to search people's houses for pies and roast meat, because they kept Christmas as a holy time, and we brought the persons prisoners to the guard for observing the same.' One of Brown's family hearing what was said to him, replied: 'There is an Abingdon bird;' to which Brown replied: 'He is a rogue for all that;' and struck him with his fist under the chin; which made another prisoner say: 'What, a magistrate and strike?' upon which Brown, with both his hands pulled him down to the ground, and then commanded the soldiers to carry them to Newgate."

When he did not thus use his own hands, he very frequently ordered the officers of the court to abuse the prisoners; so that the spectators have called out 'murder!' One John Brain being taken in the street, and not in any meeting, was brought by some soldiers before Brown, who seeing him with his hat on, ordered him to be pulled down to the ground six or seven times; and when he was down they beat his head against the ground and stamped upon him; and Brown, like a madman bade them pull off his nose; whereupon they violently pulled him by the nose. And when he was got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head; and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have spoken in his own behalf against this cruelty, Brown bade them stop his mouth; whereupon they not only struck him on the mouth, but stopped his mouth and nose, so close that he could not draw breath; and was liked to be choaked: at which Brown fell a laughing, and at length sent him to gaol."

Notwithstanding the notorious conduct of this wicked magistrate, he was a favourite at court, and was knighted!

began to sing like the women that cry kitchen stuff and Wall-Fleet oysters up and down the streets of London: '*Ha you any kitchen stuff, maids? Ha you any kitchen stuff, maids? Hey, Wall-Fleet oysters; will you buy any Wall-Fleet oysters? Will you buy any Wall-Fleet oysters? &c.*

"Many of us were committed for three months imprisonment in Newgate, being our first commitment upon the aforesaid act; and before the time of that imprisonment was expired, my dear friend and brother Richard Hubberthorn was taken sick and died; and also our dear brother Edward Burrough, who was detained prisoner after I was released, was also taken sick of a fever, and died; so the Lord pleased by death to release both these my dear brethren, companions, and fellow labourers in the Gospel of Christ Jesus; whose deaths were lamented by many tender Friends, respecting the great service which they had done in their day.

"And though I had a full share in suffering with my friends and brethren, in those days of hot persecution; and was carried through such imprisonments and sufferings as ended the days of several, yet my days have been lengthened much beyond my expectation; insomuch that I have been ready humbly to enquire, 'Lord, for what end am I so long spared alive, and my days prolonged, when so many of thy faithful servants are removed?' Whereupon he has showed me, that my trials and service in his Church and for his people, were not yet finished; and he has often made me sensible of his merciful providence, in my preservation through many trials and exercises; being supported by the word of faith, and of his patience, in the kingdom and patience of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever. O! my soul, praise thou the Lord, my Life, my Strength, and my Salvation; and let all that is within me bless his Holy Name!

"In those days of hot persecution, it was observable how furious some of the judges were against our Friends, when brought prisoners into court, and they

wanted evidence of matter of fact against them upon trial; and some of our Friends not answering interrogatories to accuse themselves, but asking for their accusers. Some of the judges would use the words; 'Sirrah! sirrah! you are an impudent fellow; leave your canting,' &c. threatening them with severe menaces, and frowning on, or brow-beating them; much unbecoming a justice or judge, who ought to be indifferent, and impartial, to do equal justice and right, without premeditation or partiality against any person.

"The said act against Quakers, to fine, imprison, and transport them out of the land for not swearing, or for their religious meetings, did not satisfy those rigid persecutors, when they had made trial thereof; the process thereupon, to three months and six months imprisonment, &c. before it came to transportation or banishment, was too slow and dilatory a procedure to answer their invidious designs. They could not thereby so expeditiously rid the land of us as they would; and therefore, in a short time, they procured another engine to shorten their work against us, to wit, another act, entitled, '*An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*,' 16 Car. 2 cap. 4. Of which act, and the administration thereof, some account may be given hereafter."

George Whitehead next gives a relation of his imprisonment with divers other Friends, in the White Lion prison in Southwark, for assembling together in the worship and service of Almighty God, and of their usage and treatment in prison; which, as he observes, shows the manner in which Friends were treated in those days, for innocent religious meetings.*

* The treatment of Friends in those days—their zeal in the support of what they believed to be right, and their constancy in suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, are so strikingly set forth in the following extract from Sewel, that I venture to introduce it, though the work may be easy of reference to most readers. It adds another to the many examples proving the impolicy of

"Upon the 3rd day of the 5th month, 1664, being the first day of the week, our Friends were peaceably met together at their usual meeting place at Horsly-down; according to their wonted manner, waiting upon

persecution, and that the Church when in spiritual health, flourishes under the fiercest trials.

"Oftentimes," says this faithful annalist, "they were kept out of their meeting houses by the soldiers; but then they did not use to go away, but stood before the place; and so their number soon increased; and then some one or other of their ministers generally stept on a bench, or some high place, and so preached boldly. Thus he got more hearers than he otherwise would have had. But such an one sometimes was soon pulled down, which then gave occasion for another to stand up and speak; and thus four or five, one after another, were taken away as innocent sheep, and carried to prison with other of their Friends, it may be forty or fifty at once.

"The keeping of meetings in the streets became now a customary thing in England; for the Quakers, so called, were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship, was a duty no man could discharge them from; and they believed that God required the performing of this service from their hands. And by thus meeting in the streets, it happened sometimes that more than one, nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach one in one place, and another in another; which in their meeting places could not have been conveniently done. Thus they got abundance of auditors, and among those sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop.

"In this state they found a great harvest, and thus their Church increased under suffering; and in those sharp times they were pretty well purified of dross; since the trial was too hot for such as were not sincere; for by frequenting their meetings in such a time, one was in danger of being either imprisoned, or beaten lame, or unto death; but this could not quench the zeal of the upright.

"Now the taking away of one preacher, and the standing up of another, became an ordinary thing in England; and it lasted yet long after, as I myself have been an eye witness of there. And when there were no more men preachers present, it may be a woman would rise, and minister to the meeting; nay, there were such, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their friends to steadfastness." *p.* 5.

"Nor did the soldiers respect age, (as specified by the law,) but took out of a meeting at Mile-end two boys, one about thirteen and the other about sixteen, and they were brought before the lieutenant of the tower, who to one present, saying, he supposed they were not of the age of sixteen, and therefore not punishable by the act, replied; 'They were old enough to be whipt, and they should

the Lord in his fear. And after some time, George Whitehead spake to the assembly by way of exhortation, to truth and righteousness. In the interim, a company of soldiers with muskets and lighted matches in their hands, rushed in; and before they came into the inner door, one of them fired a musket: and two of them violently pulled George Whitehead down, and haled him and some others out of the meeting, and carried themselves very rudely; pushing and threatening our Friends, forcing many out of the meeting, and raging at and pushing women when they came near their husbands, whom they had taken into custody. And George Whitehead asking them to show their warrant for what they did, a soldier held up his musket over his head and said, that was his warrant.

"Then both men and women whose names were in the mittimus with several more, some whereof they took near the meeting-house door and others in the street, were had to the main guard on Margaret's Hill; where they kept them for some time, until those called justices came; who asked our Friends, whether they were at the meeting aforesaid; to which answer was made, that they desired to hear what evidence came against them; for some were taken in the street, and not at all in the meeting. But they put it upon George Whitehead to confess, if he was not present at the meeting? To which he answered, what evidence have you against me, and I shall answer further? Whereupon some of the soldiers were called to give evidence concerning

be whipt out of their religion.' And so he sent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the stocks, and so pinched for the space of two hours, that their wrists were much swollen. This was done because they refused to work, as being persuaded they had not deserved to be treated so; they also eat nothing at the expense of the house.

"These lads though pretty long in that prison, yet continued steadfast, rejoicing they were counted worthy to suffer for the Name of the Lord; and they wrote a letter to their Friends' children, exhorting them to be faithful in bearing their testimony for the Lord, against all wickedness and unrighteousness." *p.* 8.

him, and the rest with him: they witnessed, that he was taken in the meeting-house, speaking to the people; which was all the evidence that was given against him.

"George Whitehead excepted against the soldiers, as being incompetent witnesses; for they came, said he, in a rude and inhuman manner, with force and arms; and so apprehended us illegally, without any justice present or warrant for what they did; but one holding up his musket, said that was his warrant, when they took us. So that they came in a terrifying manner among a peaceable people, which was both contrary to the late act and contrary to the king's Proclamation; which prohibits the seizing of subjects by soldiers, unless in time of actual insurrection. And by the said act, the deputy lieutenants and militia officers and forces, are not required to be assisting in suppressing meetings, unless upon a certificate under the hand and seal of a justice of peace, that he with his assistants are not able to suppress them. And also it was told them, that no dwelling house of any peer, or other person whatsoever, shall be entered into by virtue of the said act, but in the presence of one justice of peace.

"Friends also complained against one of the soldiers, for firing his musket near the meeting door, in the entry, and shooting a bullet through two or three ceilings and a dwelling room; which bullet was found near a cradle, where a child used to be laid; and one present had the same to show them.

"George Moor, one of the justices, answered, that it was done accidentally: but how that could be, that it was not intentionally done, does not appear; seeing the rest of the soldiers held their matches apart from their muskets. Howbeit if accidentally done, consider whether such a man as had no more discretion and government or care, was a fit person or officer, to come in that manner, with a musket charged, among a peaceable, harmless people assembled to worship God? But George Moor excused their having their muskets laden.

And to George Whitehead's saying, that there was no justice present when they were apprehended; George Moor answered that he was present. George Whitehead told him, they did not see him there; and the soldiers being asked, if he were present among them, they said no. But he said he was present, for he was near the meeting, or but a little way off. And to George Whitehead's requiring justice against those soldiers that had broken the peace, and his desiring that they would correct or stop such proceedings for the future; saying, if any hurt be done by the soldiers, it would be required at your hands, &c. answer was made by some present, that our Friends might take their course and have the benefit of the law, if they would swear the peace against them.

"As to the charge against George Whitehead, that he was at an unlawful assembly, and there was taken speaking—he answered, that it must be some unlawful act done by the persons met, that could make the meeting unlawful; and therefore desired to know what unlawful act they had committed, or were guilty of in their meeting? And he told them, that it was neither simply the meeting, nor the number met, whether five or five hundred, that could reasonably be judged unlawful, if the act or occasion met about was lawful; for it is an unlawful act that makes an unlawful meeting.

"As to the act of Parliament which is named, 'an act to prevent seditious conventicles;' the name should signify its nature and intent, and the preamble the reason or cause of it, and that is against such as under pretence of tender consciences do contrive insurrections at their meetings. The preambles of laws are esteemed the keys of laws. One of the justices said: He did not know but that our meetings were to that intent. George Whitehead told him, whatsoever he or any other might suspect against them, proves nothing; suspicion proves no fact: we are an innocent people fearing God.

"Some of the justices upon the evidence, alleged

that George Whitehead was at the meeting and taken speaking, and the meeting was above the number of five. To which George Whitehead said, that proves nothing of the breach of the law against him, unless they could prove some unlawful act done or met about; for it is not the number makes the transgression, but the fact if it be unlawful; and if three be met about an unlawful act, it is an unlawful meeting or a riot. This Friends urged several times, that it must be an unlawful act that must make a meeting unlawful; and thereupon excepted against the evidence as insufficient for conviction, or passing sentence of imprisonment upon them in order to banishment. And it was urged as a matter of weight, which concerned them to consider of.

"Whereupon George Moor with some others, commanded the people to depart, and caused the soldiers to disperse them who stood civilly by to hear and see what became of our Friends, that they might not hear their trial, and would have had George Whitehead taken away, &c. And George Whitehead being several times accused for speaking in the meeting, he desired the justices to ask the witness what he spake in the meeting? But they would not ask the question, neither could the witnesses answer to it when it was propounded by our Friends; so that nothing of the breach of the law was proved against them. One Friend told them, we suppose you will not account it a transgression to speak, where nothing can be proved against what is spoken; unless you would have us dumb and not speak at all.

"And then as to meeting to the number of five or above, under colour or pretence of religious exercise not allowed by the liturgy, which incurs the penalty of the act, George Whitehead questioned what manner of religious exercise the liturgy did disallow of? and granted that he was at the meeting and there did speak, having a word of exhortation to the people; but that still they fell short in their proof, either that the meeting was seditious or tumultuous, or that the exercise of

religion or worship as we practised was disallowed by the liturgy. For, said he, the liturgy allows what the Holy Scriptures allow of; and if I had a word of exhortation to speak, according to the gift of God received, this is allowed by the Scriptures, therefore not disallowed by the liturgy; so that you have not proved the transgression of the law against me. To which they gave no answer. The clerk said it was a dilemma; some Friends they let go, because the soldiers could not testify whether they took them in the street or in the meeting.

"But seeing they resolved to proceed against some of our Friends, George Whitehead told them, that if they had so much moderation in them, they needed not to proceed to the rigour of the law, so as to imprison them for three months; seeing the law allowed any time not exceeding three months, &c. But if they would imprison them to the utmost, George Whitehead demanded that they might have sufficient prison room, and not to be stifled and destroyed by many being crowded together, as several were before, in the same prison, &c.; for if they were it would be required at their hands, and God would plead their cause and call them to account for what they had done against them, &c.

"After several passages betwixt them, more than are here mentioned, Friends refusing to pay five pounds fine each, they were committed to jail without bail or mainprize. While the justices were committing them, there was exceeding thunder, lightning, and rain; insomuch that the water was so high in the street, that the soldiers could not get them to prison, but kept them in the street in the rain, and after had them back to a house until the water was fallen; and then they were had late to prison, much wet.

"The two keepers, viz. Stephen Harris and Joseph Hall, after a little space demanded of each of them three shillings and sixpence a week for lodging, or two shillings apiece for the bare rooms, the best whereof

overflowed with water. But they could not yield to the gaoler's oppression, nor answer his unreasonable demands, nor pay him down ten shillings which he required for that first night; but desired to be left to their liberty, and if they received any courtesy or accommodation from him, they should consider him as they found cause; but neither could pay for a prison nor uphold oppression in it.

"Whereupon Stephen Harris threatened them with the common ward, where the felons lie, and commanded them to go into it; which they refused, as a place not fit for true men to be in. Yet the said Harris turned them into the common ward among the said felons; Friends warned him not to suffer them to be abused, but they made light of it, saying, it is your own faults; and seemed to encourage the felons against our Friends,

"Soon after the keepers had turned their backs, the felons demanded half a crown apiece of each of them, swearing what they would do to them; and because Friends could not answer their unjust demands, they fell upon them, searched their pockets, and took what money they found from several of them. And when they had so done, Stephen Harris the keeper came to the window, and the felons confidently told him what they had done, and how much they had taken, and that they must have more from them; which he did not at all reprove them for; and they said, they hoped he would stand by them in what they did; only he made them return the cloak they had taken from one Friend, after they had taken his money; and he laughed when they threatened Friends and swore and cursed them; the keepers also swore at them, and threatened to make them bow; whereupon the felons gave a shout, saying: 'God 'a mercy, boys, we will be upon them again,' &c.

"Besides these abuses which our Friends met withal from the gaolers and prisoners, the ward was such a nasty stinking hole, and so crowded with those felons, and several women lying among them, which some

called their wives, that our Friends had not whereon to lay their heads to rest, nor a stool to sit down upon; but when they were weary, were fain to sit down on the floor, among the vermin, in a stinking place: of which gross abuses, complaint being made to some of the justices that committed them, the next night the gaoler was made to let Friends have room to lodge in, apart from the felons.

"A few days after my commitment to White Lion prison aforesaid, another trial befel me; I was had out of the prison, before John Lenthal, about the plot in the north of England, 1663, being unjustly accused by a Yorkshireman, a sort of an attorney, to have been concerned in that plot, because I was a Westmoreland man born; and though he could not make out any proof against me, yet he persisted in his own evil jealousy and surmise, that I was such a person, whom he named, and said was in the plot; affirming that my name was not Whitehead, but another name. Whereupon I was then carried in a boat to White-hall, guarded with musqueteers, and the gaoler also with us, and there was I had into a room near the secretary's office, where the gaoler waited with me; the lawyer, who falsely had suggested the crime against me, went in, and after some time a person was sent out to examine me, and my accuser with him; then was I questioned about my name, the examiner looking in a list of names which he had in his hand; I gave him a just account of my name and clearness, yet my accuser would confidently contradict me, saying, your name is not Whitehead, but Marshden, or such a like name; I told him surely I knew my own name, as I had declared it; presently stept in one who seemed to be an ancient gentleman, hearing my accuser tell me my name was not Whitehead, and contradicted him; saying, 'Yes, his name is Whitehead; he has writ divers books, to which his name is in print;' which gave a check to him, and prevented further examination.

"Howbeit this busy false accuser, went in again to

the secretary's office, and in a little time came out, and warned the gaoler not to discharge me, until he had order from the secretary; but whether he had order so to caution the gaoler, was questionable, for the man appeared very busy against me, without cause, or any previous knowledge of me, or I of him; but seeing he was so confident in his unjust prosecution, I questioned in my thoughts, whether he might not be suborned to prosecute me, or did it to get himself a name, or some reward for a pretended discovery. However I esteemed it best and safest for me, to trust in the Lord my God for preservation, and to be resigned to his will; and I desired if He suffered me to be prosecuted and tried for my life, I might have opportunity to vindicate and clear our holy profession and Friends, and my own innocency also, from all such works of darkness, as plots and conspiracies against king, or government; and this I thought to do, if brought to a place of execution; nevertheless I wrote a letter from prison to Lord Arlington, then secretary of state, to clear my own innocency from those false suggestions and insinuations, which were made against me, about the plot before mentioned, which was delivered to him, and I heard no more of it afterward, but was released out of prison with the rest, when the three months were expired, for which we had been committed.

"On the 16th day of the 8th month, 1664, being the first day of the week, our Friends were met together, in the fear of the Lord, according to their usual manner, in their meeting place at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, London; and George Whitehead being there, declared the Truth in the power and dread of the Lord God. After some time, came a great company of men, with halberts, into the meeting, and a little after they shut the meeting-house door, and kept out many people that would have come in; howbeit the halberteers stood and heard quietly for near an hour, as it was thought, only one rude fellow attempted to pull George Whitehead down, but did not. After-

ward came the lord mayor, and a company with him, and Richard Brown followed. In a little time after the mayor came in, a rude fellow violently pulled George Whitehead down from speaking, and haled him near the door; the mayor asked him his name, he told him.

"Richard Brown came somewhat rudely into the meeting, reviling and deriding Friends, whereupon one of them giving testimony for the presence of the Lord in our meeting, after this manner, viz. 'The Lord brought us hither; and the presence of the Lord is among us; and this is my testimony,' &c. In opposition thereto, the said Richard Brown answered, viz. 'The devil brought you hither; and the devil is among you; and this is my testimony;' laughing and swinging his arms, and threatening some to send them to Bridewell. But George Whitehead exhorted the said Richard Brown and the mayor to moderation and civility towards us; Richard Brown answered, if you will be civil to us, we will be civil to you. George Whitehead desired the mayor to produce the law they had broken, and that they might have a fair trial. Richard Brown answered: 'Yes, you shall have a fair trial at the sessions to-morrow;' it not being then ended. Then some of the halbertmen had George Whitehead, and some more of his Friends into the street, where after they had kept them some time, they sent them in companies to Newgate, without sending warrants with them, being fined one shilling each,* or six days imprisonment.

"In such manner both our men and women Friends were frequently imprisoned, and gaols filled with them in those days, and their persecutors were in great heat and haste to get them banished, upon the second act of parliament made for that end.

"If they could bring them under conviction for a third offence, as they termed our meeting to worship

* The number so committed was 45, viz. 29 men, and 16 women.

the living and only true God: which if any one among us did but confess, it was enough to make him or her an offender, and to be convicted presently thereupon, either for a first, second, or third offence. And the shortness of our imprisonment last related, as well as the smallness of the fines of one shilling a piece, seemed designed to dispatch us the sooner out of the land by banishment, after conviction for three offences pretended.

"Now, it may not be improper to give some account of the contents of the second act of parliament, designed not only for our imprisonment, but also for our banishment out of the land of our nativity; and that with more expedition than could be effected by the first act; though the Lord our God would not suffer that design of banishment to take any such general effect against us as was desired by our invidious persecutors; for by his judgments in a great measure he frustrated our adversaries. Howbeit many of our innocent Friends were sentenced for banishment, yet but few, in comparison, actually shipped away, or banished out of the land.

"The preamble and penalties of the said act follow, 16 Car. 2. ch. 4.

"It is styled, an act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. In the preamble, the 25th Eliz. ch. 1. is declared to be in force: and also for providing of further and more speedy remedy against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, do at their meetings continue insurrections, as late experience hath showed. Thus far the preamble, and reason given for the act.

"Thereupon it is enacted, that if any person of the age of 16 years and upwards, being a subject, &c. shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy of the Church of England, every such person being convicted

before two justices of the peace, to be committed to the gaol, or house of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding three months; unless such person pay down to the said justices, such sum of money not exceeding five pounds, as they might fine the offender at.

"And for the second offence, the person convicted incurred the penalty of imprisonment, for any time not exceeding six months, without bail or mainprize; unless the person convicted, pay down such sum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the justices would fine him.

"The penalty for the third offence, was imprisonment without bail or mainprize, until the next general quarter sessions, assizes, gaol-delivery, &c. there to be indicted, arraigned, &c. And when convicted, judgment to be entered, that such offender should be transported beyond the seas, to any of his majesty's foreign plantations, Virginia and New-England only excepted, there to remain seven years.

"And the said respective courts were also empowered to give out warrants to the several constables, &c. where the estate real or personal of such offender so to be transported, should be; commanding them to seize into their hands, the profits of the lands, and to distrain and sell the goods of the person to be transported, for the reimbursing the sheriff his charges, for conveying and embarking the person to be transported.

"And it is also provided and enacted, that in case the offender convicted for the third offence, shall pay one hundred pounds in court; he shall be discharged from imprisonment, transportation, and judgment for the same.

"And it is further enacted, that the like imprisonment, judgment, arraignment, and proceedings, shall be against every such offender as often as he shall again offend after such third offence; nevertheless is dischargable and discharged by payment of the like sum as was payed for his, or her said offence, next be-

fore committed, together with the additional and increased sum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offence committed.

"But this severe act was made temporary, only being to continue in force for three years after the end of that session, and to the end of the next session of parliament, after the end of three years and no longer.

"And indeed it was high time that persecuting cruel law should expire, and die; for the execution thereof, tended to the great oppression and ruin of many of the king's innocent peaceable subjects and families, especially of the people called Quakers, whom the persecutors in that three years' time furiously endeavoured to rid the nation of, by banishment, or to force them to conform to that church whereof those persecutors were members; who by their many and frequent imprisonments, in order to banishment, brought no great honour to their church, priesthood, or profession, but made many widows and fatherless, as well as poor by their persecutions, cruelties, imprisonments, fines and distresses, and many times spoil of their goods, upon their persecuting acts and laws. Our religious assemblies have been often disturbed and broken by the persecuting agents, officers, and soldiers, &c. and many of us apprehended and brought before magistrates, and witnesses called and examined, and no matter of evil fact proved against any of us, either of any breach of the public peace or sedition, much less of any contrivance of insurrection, or of any other dangerous practice whatsoever; or if the meeting was taken sometime wholly silent, or altogether in silence, yet the persecuting justices would endeavour to make it a seditious conventicle, when they could have no proof of any sedition, or unlawful act whatsoever, or colour of evidence thereof against it, or any of our meetings whatsoever.

"The manner of their proceeding to conviction against many of us, has been thus, viz. When apprehended and convened before the magistrates, and the officers or witnesses called, they declare they took such

and such persons in such a conventicle or meeting. The magistrate asks, What did they do there? If the witness answers, he took such an one preaching, or teaching, or praying; and he be asked, What did he say? Commonly the witness or witnesses cannot remember one sentence, preached or prayed. However the persecuting magistrate takes it for granted, it was a seditious conventicle, though he has no proof of any sedition preached, taught, or uttered in prayer, nor any evidence or knowledge of what was said, preached, or prayed, yet presently he passes judgment, enters conviction, and imprisons the persons convened.

"If any of the persons taken, confessed they were met to worship God in spirit and Truth, or to wait upon God; this the persecuting magistrates presently lay hold of, and say, That is enough, or they have confessed enough to convict them of a conventicle, or unlawful assembly.

"And if the witnesses, or informers, have no evidence to give, of any matter of fact, or overt act, or colour of religious exercise done in the meeting; but only that the meeting was all in silence, as many times it hath been; yet the persecuting magistrates, or justices, would either make a riot, or unlawful assembly of such a quiet and silent meeting, when there was not the least appearance of a riot, force, or violence, nor any thing acted or spoken in terrorum, or to the hurt or injury of any one's person or property whatsoever.*

"When a persecuting justice with a constable and others comes huffing and stamping into the assembly, whether all be in silence or one preaching, and either commands the people to be pulled out of the meeting, or the doors to be shut to keep them in, and their

* Judge Bridman charging a jury at Hertford, said: "You are not to expect a plain punctual evidence against them, for any thing they said or did at their meeting; for they may speak to one another, though not with articulate sounds, but by a *cast of the eye*, or *a motion of the head* or foot, or gesture of the body." *Sewel*, vol. ii. page 135. *Editor.*

names to be taken; the officers and other rude persons, either pull and hale people out till they are tired, or take names, &c. until they are weary, according as they have command. The justice then either imprisons, or fines many of the persons who are most noted, though he saw no fact committed, of any evil nature or tendency.

"Persecuting justices would easily receive informations against our religious meetings, how ignorant and impertinent soever they were. If an envious person or informer told the justice, that the Quakers were met under colour of religious exercise, contrary to the *Liturgy and practice of the Church of England*, and declared that there was preaching or praying in such a meeting, although he remembered not one word expressed in either; such ignorant evidence has been often deemed sufficient for conviction: the informer or witness thus presuming to be judge both of law and fact, when probably he understands not what the word *liturgy* means, nor can explain the propriety or extent of that term, or of the expression, *practice of the Church of England;* which practice is not limited to reading the common prayer.*"

* This passage may be illustrated by the views of some of the jurymen, on the trial of a number of Friends in London, for meeting for worship in *other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England.*

"The jury, in the first instance, brought in their verdict, that four of the prisoners were *not guilty*, and the rest they could not agree on. The judge (Hyde) being much displeased, sent them out again with fresh instructions; they returned with this verdict, *guilty of meeting but not of fact.* The judge inquiring what they meant by not guilty of fact, the jury replied: 'Here is evidence that they met at the Bull and Mouth, therefore we say guilty of meeting: but no evidence of what they did there, and therefore we say, not guilty of meeting contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England.' The judge asked some of the jury, whether they did not believe in their consciences, that they were there under colour and pretence of worship? To which one of them replied: 'I do believe in my conscience, that they were met to worship in deed and in truth.' Another said: 'My lord, I have that venerable respect for the Liturgy of the Church of England, as to believe it is

It was observable, as well as memorable, that as the rulers and government in those days were often warned of the impending judgments of God, if they would not desist and leave off their persecutions; so when they were making haste to have us banished out of the land, and especially out of the city of London and suburbs thereof, in the years 1664 and 1665, and for that end the gaols were often filled and crowded, whereby many innocent people suffered death; God was pleased even then, in the year 1665, to hasten his heavy judgment and sad calamity of the great plague, or raging pestilence upon the said city, and some other places in the land, whereby many thousands of the inhabitants died, sometimes above six thousand in a week, of all sorts, both of good and evil, men and women, besides innocent children. Though the calamity was common to all classes, yet were the righteous taken away from the evil to come, and it went ill with the wicked; but for all this they would not return to the Lord; neither would the cruel persecutors repent of their abominable cruelties, but persisted therein as far as they could; disturbing our meetings and imprisoning, until they were frightened with the plague. Even in this time there were many of our innocent Friends confined in gaols, which seemed no small piece of barbarity and inhumanity, especially when the infectious contagion so greatly prevailed in the city. I have told some persons in authority of this cruelty, &c. to manifest what mercy

according to the Scriptures, which allow of the worship of God in spirit; and therefore I conclude, to worship God in spirit is not contrary to the Liturgy: if it be, I shall abate of my respect for it.'" *Gough*, vol. ii. page 129.

Such decision and good feeling were but rarely met with in the juries of those days; who in general united with judges and informers, in the *illegal* application of *unjust* laws. The king and the legislature, the judges and the people, were combined together to oppress tender consciences, in the support of the idol of uniformity: who can wonder that such a nation was ripe for heavy calamities! *Editor.*

their church then showed us, and that men of moderation or any compassion would be ashamed thereof.

In the year 1665, and in that very summer when the plague and mortality were so great, the persecutors in London were busy to send away our Friends whom they had sentenced for banishment, and closely detained in prison in order thereto.

They began soon in the year to force our Friends on shipboard. The first Friends they shipped to send away, were Edward Brush, Robert Hayes, and James Harding; who on the twenty-fourth day of the first month, 1665, were early in the morning, without any timely warning, hurried down from Newgate to Blackfriars stairs by the turnkeys, and from thence to Gravesend, and there forced on shipboard; the said Edward Brush being a very aged man, and a citizen of good repute among his neighbours and many persons of quality, yet was thus sent away and banished from his dear wife and child. But a more lamentable instance of the persecutors' cruelty in this undertaking was, that the said Robert Hayes being taken fasting out of prison, and weak in body, having been under a course of physic, was carried forth upon the water to Gravesend, the season being very cold; and having no outward refreshment or relief afforded him by the way on the water, within a very short time after he was put on shipboard he died there; and his body was brought up to London and buried in our Friends' burying place.

I knew this Robert Hayes; he was a very innocent, loving man, a good like person, had a fresh, comely countenance, seemed healthy and in his prime strength when first imprisoned. I was very sorrowfully affected, when I heard how quickly he was dispatched out of the world, by that shameful cruelty and inhuman usage, inflicted upon him by those merciless persecutors.*

* Edward Brush and James Harding were sent to Jamaica, where they were prosperous and lived in good circumstances, Ed-

On the 18th of the second month, 1665, seven more of our Friends were taken out of Newgate and carried to Gravesend, and there put on shipboard for banishment, as the others were before.

Not many days after those Friends were embarked, one of the grand persecutors was suddenly cut off by death, namely, judge Hyde; who, it is said, was seen well at Westminster in the morning, and died in his closet about noon.

About this time the plague began to increase more and more, and the first that was known to die thereof in the city, was within a few doors of the said Edward Brush's house. And the plague so increased, until of that and other distempers, there died eight thousand in a week in and about the city of London. Oh! the hardheartedness, cruelty, and presumption of our persecutors; who in that time of the great calamity and mortality, in the fifth month, 1665, took fifty-five men and women, of our Friends, out of Newgate, and forced them on board the ship called the Black Eagle, which lay some time at Buggby's Hole; and the sickness being in Newgate, whence they were carried out to the ship, the distemper broke out among them when so crowded, that the most of them were infected; insomuch that about twenty-seven of them soon died on shipboard, some at Buggby's Hole and the rest beyond Gravesend.

I visited these Friends and had a meeting with them when on shipboard; and the Lord my God preserved me both from the distemper and from banishment, wherein I do humbly confess his power and special Providence, to his own praise and glory alone.

Having some time of respite between my imprisonments, before the sickness in London, I travelled to visit our Friends in the country, and sometimes into the nor-

ward Brush was an aged man at the time of his banishment, and left behind him a beloved wife and only child; but aged as he was, he survived the term of his exile, returned to his country, and died at home in peace. *Editor.*

thern counties; and near the beginning of that summer, 1665, when the pestilence was begun in London, I was in the county of Surrey, and having a meeting at John Smith's house at Worplesdon, his brother Stephen Smith and his wife, &c. came to the meeting; where Stephen and his wife were convinced of the Truth, which the Lord enabled me to declare, and livingly to demonstrate, at that time, as at many other times and meetings.

I soon came to London, and my lodging was at the house of William Travers, tobacconist, in Watling Street.

It was a time of great calamity and sorrow, to many thousands of all sorts; and that which added to our Friends' affliction was, the hardness of our persecutors' hearts, their cruelty and barbarity in imprisoning and detaining many of them both in Newgate, London, and in the White Lion prison in Southwark, after the plague was greatly broken forth, and many people were swept away thereby.

I had not then freedom to leave the city, or Friends in and about London, in that time of great calamity, no, not when the mortality was at the height; but was concerned and given up in spirit to stay among them to attend Friends' meetings, to visit Friends, even when many of them lay sick of the contagion, both in prison and in their habitations. And in all that time the Lord preserved me by his power, from that infectious distemper; which mercy I esteemed great and wonderful, and hope ever thankfully to remember, in a living sense of the same Divine Hand which upheld and preserved me.

And although it was judged the prisons were then infected and poisoned with the contagion, I was freely given up to suffer imprisonment; and on first-days took my night-cap in my pocket when I went to meetings, not knowing but I might be apprehended and committed to prison. However, the Lord gave me faith to be resigned to his will, either to live or to die for his Name

and Truth's sake; and through all those dangers and difficulties, to bear my testimony in faithfulness to his blessed Power and Light of righteousness; and He thereby sustained and wonderfully preserved my life, when the cry and sound of mortality was round about us, from one end and side of the city to another.

As the contagion and sickness increased, many of our persecutors were so terrified, that their hands were for some time weakened; yet still many of them were so hardened that they were resolved to proceed against us unto banishment: as when Pharaoh saw there was respite, he hardened his heart, so did our persecutors, when the calamity did not come upon themselves; though they saw how it was abroad in the world, greatly destroying the inhabitants thereof: for it was observed in the weekly bill, that when the plague was most hot and violent in and about London, seven thousand one hundred and sixty-five died thereof in one week; and in that year, 1665, of the same distemper, sixty eight thousand five hundred and ninety-six, according to the yearly bill.

I was then deeply concerned in my spirit for our Friends, to visit both such of them as were sick in prison and out of prison, even when some of them were very near death; being often in great suffering and travail of spirit, with earnest prayer and fervent supplications to God for them, who were sufferers by imprisonment and this visitation, that God would appear for them and plead their innocent cause, and afford them speedy help and deliverance. Being then a witness of that love which casts out fear, through the great mercy and love of my Heavenly Father manifested in his dear Son, I was not afraid to visit my Friends when sick and in infected prisons. The Lord did support and bear up my spirit in living faith, true and fervent love above the fear of death or the contagious distemper, and my life was resigned and given up, in the will of Him who gave it, for my Friends and brethren; for whose sake true Christian love would engage us to lay down our

lives to save theirs, if required of the Lord so to manifest our unfeigned love one for another: and the Lord gave us great consolation, comfort, and courage; having received certain testimony and evidence in our hearts, of the love of God which we did partake of in Christ Jesus, from which we believed no wrath of man, no persecutions, calamities, nor distresses should separate us.

In those times of severe trials, those questions and answers given by the apostle, *Rom.* viii. 35, &c. were often remembered: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written: For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us: for I am persuaded, that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

SECTION X.

* The Oxford five mile act—George Whitehead addresses two epistles to Friends during their trials.—The great fire in London, 1666.—Friends continue their meetings.—George Whitehead continues principally in London—and marries in the year 1669. In 1686 he lost his wife—and in 1688 married again.—The narrative reverts to the fire in London.—A further act to prevent seditious conventicles in 1670.

In consequence of the plague prevailing in London, the Parliament was convened this year at Oxford. The joint calamities of war and pestilence, which at this time distressed the city and nation, seemed to have made no profitable impression on the members of this Parliament, so as to incline them to a better temper towards the nonconformists. As if the sufferings of every class of the people were not sufficient, and as if the evil of nonconformity was the only sin of the nation, they proceeded to enact a fresh penal law, commonly known by the name of the "*Oxford five mile act*;" which received the royal assent, October the 31st, 1665. It required all parsons and others in holy orders, who had not subscribed the "*Act of Uniformity*," to swear that *under any circumstances*, it was unlawful to take up arms against the king, and that they would not at any time endeavour *any alteration of government in church or state*. Those nonconformist ministers who would not subscribe this oath of *passive obedience*, were forbid under a penalty of forty pounds, except in passing the road, to come within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough that sends burgesses to Parliament, or within five miles of any parish, town, or place wherein they had, since the passing of the act

* This notice of the Oxford act, is not in George Whitehead's memoirs.

of oblivion, been parsons, &c. or where they had preached in any conventicle. They were also rendered incapable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders to be instructed, under the same penalty.

Though this act was principally aimed at the Presbyterians and Independents, who had formerly enjoyed the ecclesiastical emoluments, and many of them suffered severely from it; yet it was also frequently employed against the poor Quakers, by the tendering of them the oath; and thus, though from their peaceable principles they could readily declare that they held it unlawful to take up arms against the king, or to subvert either church or state, yet as they would not swear to it, they were frequently committed to prison. *See Sewel and Gough.*

It is observable that the prevalence of the plague had but little influence in checking the persecuting spirit. As to outward appearance, "One event happened to the righteous and the wicked;" men hardened their hearts, and did not seek to propitiate the Divine favour by amending their ways. Indeed, it would appear that the persecutors were disposed to attribute the calamity to the prevalence of *unorthodox notions*, rather than to the corrupt and vicious practices which were spread like a leprosy over the court and the people.

During these great trials, George Whitehead's faith appears to have been unshaken; and he addressed two affectionate and encouraging epistles to his Friends, whose spirits were saddened and cast down under the afflictions of the times; the latter written after the heat of the contagion was over: from both of them I shall give a few extracts.

FIRST EPISTLE.

"O, dear Friends!

"You that have received the testimony of God's love

and salvation, and have tasted of the power of an endless life, look not out nor be discouraged at the deep suffering and trial of the present time; though many have a deep sense thereof upon their spirits, and the hearts of many be saddened, to see how universal this calamity and overflowing scourge is, in this day of sweeping, sifting, and trying; wherein the gift of many must be thoroughly tried, and their patience proved, to the resignment of life and all into the will of the Father, in whose hands we are; who knows what is best for his children, and whose ways are not to be measured nor found out by the wisdom of man; for his works and proceedings are in a cross to all carnal reason and expectations, and to the confounding thereof. But they who, in the faith and patience of Christ, do give up to his will, as those that live by faith in Him, and whose hope and refuge the Lord is, such shall never be confounded nor afraid, though the earth be removed; neither shall they be discouraged or unsettled because of the wicked, who, when he is in great power, flourishes like a green bay-tree; for he passeth away and shall not be found. And he that enters into the sanctuary of the Lord, and there abides, shall see the end of his enemies and persecutors, who stand in slippery places, though for a time they have seemed to prosper in the world.

"And dear Friends, who have a sense of the sufferings of the Righteous Seed, which bears the afflictions, sorrows, and sufferings of God's people through all, and hath been bruised and wounded under the weight and burden of people's iniquities; though He has been deemed as one plagued or smitten of God—all of you keep in the sense of the power of Christ, by which you may feel your preservation, through faith in Him who is given for a Covenant of Life and Light; and retire to Him who is manifest for a sure hiding place to the upright, in the day of calamity and hour of temptation; in Him you will witness plenteous redemption, and the refreshments of his life, over all the troubles and suffer-

ings of the present time, and over all fears and doubtings which thereupon would beset any of you, to weaken you either inwardly or outwardly.

"And let none admit unbelief or hard thoughts, nor be shaken in mind because of the deep sufferings of many of the dear servants of the Lord at this day, who are as killed and crucified, and all the day long accounted as sheep for the slaughter; nor at the great calamity and mortality in this fading city, which extends to the upright and innocent, as well as to the unrighteous; and to divers of the sufferers for Truth in their confinements, who have not contributed to the cause of God's displeasure herein, but are taken away in mercy as to them, and from the evil to come; and set in safety from the future cruelties, and wicked designs of their oppressors and cruel minded persecutors, who have hunted for the blood of the innocent; and may not only be charged with not visiting Christ when He was sick and in prison, but also with killing and murdering Him in prison; inasmuch as it is done to any of his little ones, by their cruel confinements in pestilential or poisonous places. But we know that for the faithful assuredly remains victory, triumph, and everlasting safety, though it be through death to many of them; who know that it is neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor death, nor life, &c. that shall be able to separate from the love of Christ; and hereof we have a sure evidence and living confidence, in the Name and Power of the Lord our God; to whom be glory and praises for ever!"

SECOND EPISTLE. "Yea, blessed forever be the name of our God, who hath given us strength and courage to stand in an evil day, over hell, and death, and the devil, with all his fiery darts and fierce assaults against the righteous. The Lord hath spared and will spare a remnant, to bear his mark and name upon earth, and to hold forth a living testimony for his glory and praise amongst the sons of men; for which many have not

loved their lives unto death, but have offered up their lives: as many manifestly did in that city of London the last summer, when such a sore visitation and calamity was upon that place, wherein many offered up life and all, for the truth, and their afflicted brethren and sisters; for whose sakes my soul has been often so greatly bowed down and afflicted, that neither life itself, nor any outward privilege, did seem too dear to me to resign, or offer up for their sakes.

"And the life, peace, satisfaction, and comfort, that many innocent Friends felt, and that some expressed and signified on their death-beds, I am a living witness of for them; having at some times, as the Lord hath drawn me in his love, been present with many of them, when they were very low in the outward man, and with divers when upon their death beds, both in that destructive place of Newgate, and some other places. Yea, when sorrow and sadness have seized upon my spirit, and my heart and soul have been pierced and wounded when I have seen the sad sufferings of so many harmless lambs, when they were on their sick beds in these noisome holes and prisons; yet at the same time, having had a deep sense and knowledge of the Lord's love and care to them in that condition, and having truly felt his Life and Power stirring amongst them; this, on the other hand, has refreshed and revived my spirit, knowing that Christ, their Salvation and Redemption, was manifest to and in them, though in that suffering state. Having followed and obeyed Him through sufferings and tribulations, with such to live was Christ, even in that state; and to die was gain; it being through death that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many, from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors, and from the miseries and evils to come.

"And also the faithfulness, uprightness, and innocency of divers of those that were taken away, and their constancy of spirit to the Lord and his living Truth, and their unfeigned love to the brethren, by the which

it was evident they had passed from death to life, and that living and faithful testimony they did bear for the Lord in their life-time, being well known and manifest amongst us; their memorial is truly precious to us, and never to be forgotten; and we are satisfied that they were counted worthy for the Lord; and the world was not worthy of them.

"And now if such as take advantage against us on the occasion aforesaid, whether they be open or secret smiters or enemies, did either rightly or seriously come to weigh their conditions, and let God's witness judge in the case, they have no cause to boast, glory, or insult over us, or against us; for that they are not their own keepers, nor is their life continued by their own power; and how soon their time may be expired, and their judgment overtake them, they know not, nor how soon their days may be cut asunder. Certainly their condemnation slumbers not, who in the pride of their hearts and presumption of their spirits, turn against the suffering seed of God, under what profession and pretence soever. And knowing also, that many that were of their own spirit and principle, have also been taken away under the same calamity; for it has extended to all sorts, both holy and profane; they have cause to dread and fear before the Lord, and not to be high minded nor presumptious; for the mouth of the boaster and exalted must be stopped, and all flesh and carnal reason is to be silent in this matter, for God's power is over it all.

"Now my dear Friends and tender hearts, commit your way to the Lord, and cast your burden upon Him, and He will bear you up and sustain you, by his own right hand of power. And live in the Immortal Seed and spiritual communion, where Life and peace is daily received, and your mutual refreshment and consolation stands, and wherein the spirits of just men are seen and felt, and the life of God's faithful servants and martyrs, and such as have finished their testimony with joy and peace, is enjoyed; even in this spiritual com-

munion, which reaches beyond all visibles, and is above all mortal and fading objects or things. So in the dear and tender love of God, which dwells and lives in my heart towards you, and all the faithful every where, I commit you to Him in whom our help and deliverance is; and in the kingdom of Christ's patience, am your dear and faithful friend and brother,

G. W."

The next year, after the city and suburbs of London were so greatly thinned and depopulated by the plague, the dreadful fire began, and broke out in Pudding lane, over against the place where the monument stands; whereby, in a few days time, a very great part of the city, within the walls, was burnt down and the habitations consumed, except a few streets and parts of streets, to the great amazement, terror, and distraction of the inhabitants; who were forced to flee for their lives, with what goods they could save, into Moorfields and the out parts, and there to lie abroad with their goods for several nights and days; the country bringing in bread, &c. for their relief. Oh! my soul greatly pitied the inhabitants, when I saw them lie in the fields, in that poor mournful condition.

One passage I may not omit by the way, because it has been misrepresented and false reports spread about it, viz. one Thomas Ibbott, or Ibbit, a Huntingdonshire man, came to London two days before the fire, in great haste, being on a sixth day of the week, and alighted off his horse with his clothes loose, (supposed by some to be a person under distraction or discomposure of mind, as I understood by divers,) and very much hastened or run through the city, toward Whitehall, in such a like posture as many of the inhabitants were forced to flee from the fire, when they had scarce time to put on or fasten their wearing clothes about them; such a sign he appeared to be, and foretold his vision which he had before, that the city would be laid waste by fire, according as I was informed; for I saw him not until that

day's morning when the fire was broken out. But the evening after the said Thomas Ibbott had passed through the city, I met with some of our women Friends at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, who gave me a pretty full account of him; how he had been with them that day, and told them his vision of the fire and message to London: and that to them he appeared very zealous and hot in his spirit, when he told them thereof; and they were afraid he was under some discomposure of mind, which made them somewhat question or doubt of what he told them.

Yet I was not at that time without some secret fear, concerning this Friend Thomas Ibbott, lest he might run out, or be exalted by the enemy into some conceit or imagination or other, especially when he saw his vision come to pass the next morning. It was when the fire had broken out as aforesaid, from the place where it began, and early in the morning was got down to the bridge and Thames-street, the wind easterly and so high that it drove the fire more violently and irresistibly before it, blowing great flakes over houses and from one to another.

Also in a letter of his, a few days before the fire was over, he mentioned the true number of days when the vision of fire should be accomplished; so that he had a certain vision and discovery given him in that particular. And to show that there remained a sincerity in the man, when his mind came to be settled he wrote a letter to some Friends in London, wherein, after remembering his love to G. W. J. C. and S. H. he hath these words following, viz.

"I dare not much stir up or down any ways, for peop'e's looking at what was done, lest the Lord should be offended, farther then my own outward business lies.

"I have been much tempted and exercised; yet through mercy have found help in the needful time. Whatsoever slips or failings Friends saw in me, in the time I was with them, I would have none take notice

of; for I was under great exercises and often run too fast, which the Lord in his due time gave me a sight of. In the love of my Father, farewell,

"T. I."*

* Though by no means anxious to search after what may be deemed the *marvellous* in connexion with the history of our Society, deeming the gift of *prophecy*, in the sense of *speaking unto men to edification*, more to be esteemed than the speaking in unknown tongues or than other marvellous gifts, yet neither am I disposed to exclude all extraordinary circumstances from religious history or biography. Nothing is more fallacious than *our* schemes of what is fitting to the Divine economy. Both in nature and in grace it may truly be said, that "God moves in a mysterious way;" and I cannot see either the philosophy or the piety of denying *well authenticated* facts, because we may not be able to reconcile them with our system, or with what is called the natural course of things. Let what is extraordinary be carefully investigated—but surely well authenticated testimony in regard to facts, is stronger evidence than any which can be brought against it, drawn from our notions of the Divine economy. If we could see the whole course of Divine Providence, we should probably find that many of our wisest generalizations had been hasty and imperfect, and have in regard to these, to confess that we had known but a very *small portion of the Divine ways*. It is reasonable therefore to expect many exceptions to our rules; and it is the part of true philosophy to collect rather than to reject them.

Whatever might be the weakness of the man, how, without some supernatural direction, he should be led to proclaim the approach of so extraordinary an event, is to me inexplicable. Of those who admit the authenticity of the fact, many will probably attribute the presentiment to a morbid brainular action, and assert that such an instrument could not be employed to declare the Divine displeasure at the prevailing profligacy and cruelty, and to call men, by the evidence of the Divine prescience and retributive Providence, to turn from the evil of their ways. I confess I cannot so philosophize; but whatever may be the true explication of the circumstances, I beg it may be observed that the weakness of the man appears to have been rightly estimated by his friends; and that neither before nor subsequently to this extraordinary affair, was he a person of any influence in the Society.

This observation will be confirmed by Sewel's account of the transaction: "Thomas Ibbit of Huntingdonshire came to London a few days before the burning of that city, and, as hath been related by eye-witnesses, did upon his coming thither alight from his horse, and unbutton his clothes in so loose a manner as if they had been put on in haste, just out of bed. In this manner he went about the city on the sixth, being the day he came there, and also

When the city was burnt down and laid in ashes, we had our meetings on the fourth-day, weekly, near Wheeler-street; our usual place, the Bull and Mouth, being then demolished by the fire, at which place our meetings had been most disturbed; and at other out parts, off and about the city, we kept our meetings at the usual times and places, as at the Peel in St. John's street, Westminster; Horslydown, on Southwark side; Ratcliff, Devonshire-house, Old Buildings; and then had some respite and ease from violent persecution and disturbance for a time, until the city came in a great measure to be rebuilt.

Yet still the persecuting spirit and design of persecution remained in our adversaries: so many of them as were not cut off by the plague took no warning thereby, nor by the subsequent consuming fire which had laid waste the best part of the city.

the seventh day of the week, pronouncing a judgment by fire, which should lay waste the city. On the evening of those days, some of his friends had meetings with him, to enquire concerning his message and call to pronounce that impending judgment; in his account whereof he was not more particular and clear than that he said, he had had for some time the vision thereof, but had delayed to come and declare it as commanded, until he felt, as he expressed it, the fire in his own bosom; which message or vision was very suddenly proved to be sadly true. The fire begun on the 2nd of September, 1666, on the first day of the week; which did immediately follow those two days, the said Thomas Ibbit had gone about the city declaring that judgment.

"Having gone up and down the city as hath been said, when afterwards he saw the fire break out, and beheld the fulfilling of his prediction, a spiritual pride seized on him, which if others had not been wiser than he, might have tended to his utter destruction; for the fire being come as far as the east end of Cheapside, he placed himself before the flame, and spread his arms forth, as if to stay the progress of it; and if one Thomas Matthews, with others, had not pulled him, seeming now altogether distracted, from thence, it was like he might have perished by the fire. Yet in process of time, as I have been told, he came to some recovery, and confessed this error: an evident proof of human weakness, and a notorious instance of our frailty, when we assume to ourselves the doing of any thing which Heaven alone can enable us."—*Vol.* ii. *p.* 199, 200. *Editor.*

Though the Lord our God was pleased to give our Friends in London, faith and courage as well as resolution to build our meeting-house in White-Hart court, by Grace-church street; yet we were not then without expectation of further persecution and suffering, for meeting in that as well as other places in and about the city. And so it came to pass after the said meeting house was built; our meetings were frequently disturbed, especially on first days of the week, by the trained bands and informers; and many of us forcibly haled out, and our meetings often kept in the street, where sometimes we had opportunities openly to declare the Truth and preach the Gospel, as well as publicly to pray to Almighty God; yet not always suffered so to do, but often in the very time violently pulled away, whilst in the exercise of the Gospel ministry; and likewise when we have been in solemn prayer to Almighty God, we have been laid hold on and violently taken, and many of us had to the Exchange, and there kept under a guard of soldiers until the afternoon; and then had before the mayor, who would be ready to fine or imprison us, or otherwise to bind us over to appear at the sessions, or rather to take our words to appear, if he was a person of some moderation toward us: and the latter obligation we rather chose, that was, conditionally to promise we would appear if the Lord pleased, rather than be bound by recognizance or bond to appear; because commonly in their recognizances they would put the words, "and in the mean time to be of the good behaviour." But we could not assent to be so bound; because we knew they would interpret our religious, solemn meetings a breach of "the good behaviour;" which meetings we could never yield to decline.

But as for me, my share has been imprisonment oftener than liberty upon parole or promise, being more cautious of being any ways ensnared thereby, contrary to my Christian liberty and testimony, than of imprisonment or outward confinement; which was not

only my own care, respecting my inward peace and liberty in Christ Jesus, but it was also the care of all faithful Friends and brethren in those days, to keep out of all such snares as would infringe that liberty. We chose rather to expose our persons to be trampled on in the streets, by our persecuting adversaries, if permitted, than bow down our souls at their command. *Isa.* li. 23.

Although in those suffering times, I was much concerned to attend our Friends' disturbed meetings in and about London, yet at sundry times I had a concern laid upon me to visit our Friends and their meetings in the county of Surrey, particularly on that side where our dear friend Stephen Smith and his family lived; they having not long before that time, in great love, received theTruth through my testimony, as before related; and I visited and had divers good and blessed meetings in those parts, both at Stephen Smith's house at Purbright, and other places towards Guilford; where the Lord was with me, helped and comforted me in his work and service, as at other times and places.

George Whitehead apprehending that his post in serving and suffering for the cause he had espoused, was, in future, likely to be chiefly in London, he thought of entering into the married state and settling there; and in the year 1669, he married Ann Greenwel, a widow residing in London; who, it appears, was a person much esteemed for her piety and attachment to the cause of Truth, of which she had been one of the first receivers.

She was considerably older than her husband; but the connexion appears to have furnished a true helpmeet to him, until her death in the year 1686. He remained a widower two years, during which he had some doubts whether he should marry again; but having earnestly sought the Lord to direct him aright, he felt freedom to enter again into the married state; (being also encouraged in the step by his friends;) and

made proposals to a Friend of the name of Ann Goddard, "an honest and virtuously inclined maid;" who was considerably younger than himself, and of whom and their connexion he says: "She was an ingenious and careful wife; and we were mutually comforted together, in true love and tender affection. We had but one child, which the Lord took away, it dying in the birth. Howbeit, He (the Lord) so sanctified that and other disappointments and afflictions to us, in this lower world, that He gave us faith and patience to bear them, and to look above, beyond all external objects of delight and afflictions here below, which are but momentary, to an eternal inheritance in his heavenly kingdom. Glory to His excellent Name for ever!"

SECTION XI.

Occurrences 1666 to 1670.—George Whitehead, in 1670, taken from a meeting in Grace-church street.—The mayor orders a priest to read prayers and preach in Friends' meeting-house.—Other meetings disturbed.—An order of court to prevent Friends meeting at Horslydown.—Proceedings thereupon.

Having in those particulars of the domestic history, given by the author, travelled beyond the period of the general narrative; we return to the account which he gives of the sufferings of himself and his friends, after the fire of London.

George Whitehead has passed over the interval between 1666 and 1670, nearly without notice. His work is, however, so much of a history of the Society, in those eventful times, that it may not be improper to supply a few particulars.

The operation of the act for suppressing conventicles, passed in the year 1664, expired in 1667; and although the remaining laws under which the Quakers and other dissenters had previously suffered, were sufficient to keep up the practice of persecution, yet they were permitted, during the years 1667 and 1668, to hold their religious meetings with rather less disturbance than heretofore. The extraordinary encouragement also given by the Conventicle Act to wicked informers being withdrawn, those years were comparatively times of ease; and the Society, after all its sufferings, was strengthened and encouraged. Many of its most active members had, during the last few years, witnessed a good confession, and had sealed with their blood the cause in which they were engaged. Others not less able or devoted, arose to fill the places of those who were removed. Amongst those we may mention the names of Robert Barclay and William Penn, the for-

mer of whom in 1667, and the latter in 1668, embraced the principles of the despised Quakers; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the honours and treasures of the world.

The distresses of the country from the plague, fire, and war, seemed to have had little if any effect, in softening men's minds towards those who differed from them on religious matters, or in promoting even an external show of virtue. Licentiousness and extravagance still pervaded the court; nor did the corruption stop here—it pervaded alike the clergy and the representatives of the people. Vice might be said preeminently to reign, and it is not surprising therefore that religion and virtue should suffer.

In the year 1670 the *Conventicle Act* was revived in Parliament, and re-enacted with two additional clauses; which were, "that if any justice of peace refuse to do his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit five pounds; and secondly, that all the clauses of this act, shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution of them."

George Whitehead observes, that the avowed object of this act was "*To prevent and suppress seditious conventicles;*" but the obvious design was, to force a general conformity to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England. And the agents chiefly employed in the work, were a company of loose, idle, profligate, and mercenary informers; by that law let loose to seek honest people's ruin, by making great havoc and spoil upon their goods. And these worthless creatures often boasted to the poor conscientious sufferers, that they were servants to the KING AND THE CHURCH; and that they would make them leave their conventicles, and conform.

The informers were too often encouraged in their proceedings by persecuting magistrates; and they were much stimulated also by their own desire of gain:

being entitled to a third part of the fines on conviction, for which the testimony of two of them, on oath, before one magistrate, was sufficient. George Whitehead justly observes, that "such partial prosecution, conviction, and punishment, against free-born Englishmen, as this act imposed, were expressly contrary to the great charter, and to the common law and justice of England, and destructive of their properties and birthright."

Whilst the proceedings of the government, in direct opposition to the king's declaration on his return, could not but excite some feelings of just indignation in the minds of the sufferers; it is quite clear from their history, that they were never led into any political combinations or opposition to the government. Like the early Christians, their only arms were prayers and patience; and their firm stand for liberty of conscience, by meekly enduring whatever the support of it exposed them to, at length obtained what, in all probability, more violent proceedings would have sought in vain.*

* Neale very justly observes, in regard to the new Conventicle Act, that "the wit of man could hardly invent any thing, short of capital punishment, more cruel and inhuman." "It is evident," he says, after repelling the imputation of seditious conduct on the part of the dissenters, "that the act was levelled purely against liberty of conscience, and was so severely executed, that there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over England. Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty.

"The behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty, and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went altogether to prison; they staid there till they were dismissed; for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged they went to their meeting-house again as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors, saying, they would not be ashamed nor afraid to meet together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet Daniel, they would do it more publicly because they were forbid. Some called this ob-

Whilst the Society of Friends fully evinced their willingness to suffer, rather than violate their consciences, they did not scruple to use legal means to avoid conviction, under the persecuting edict made against them; and to represent the extent and unreasonableness of their sufferings, to the king and the government. This will appear from the following statement, which George Whitehead makes, of the proceedings which took place subsequently to the passing of the last mentioned act for suppressing conventicles.

On the fifth day of the 4th month, 1670, our Friends being met as usual in a peaceable manner, at their meeting-house in Grace-church street, London; and George Whitehead being moved publicly to pray to God, in time of prayer was laid hold on by some of the soldiers, pulled away, and haled out of the meeting; as was also John Bolton, an ancient citizen, for declaring the Truth to the people. They were both had to the Exchange, and there kept six hours; after which, according to order, they appeared at Guild Hall, before Sir Joseph Sheldon, &c. Whereupon George Whitehead called for their accusers, to have them face to face.

Some of the soldiers being called to give evidence, George Whitehead warned them to take heed what they swore; and he also warned Joseph Sheldon, and the rest with him, to do nothing but what they could answer for before the great God, who would judge righteously: for, said he, "we apprehend that we are taken contrary to law, even to this present act, viz. by sol-

stinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending against so much resolution." *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. page 552.

It was soon after the passing of this act, that the celebrated trial of William Penn and William Mead took place, for meeting for religious worship in Grace-church street, the doors of the meeting-house being closed against them. *Editor.*

diers, where there was no resistance made by any of us; we desire to be heard."

Joseph Sheldon said: "If you be illegally convicted, you may make your appeal:" endeavouring to stop George Whitehead from pleading.

George Whitehead. "I desire to be heard," &c. But being interrupted several times, he said: "I require you in point of justice to hear me, being a free-born Englishman," &c., whereupon they did a little permit him.

George Whitehead. "We would not have you that are our judges, in the mean time to prejudice your own consciences, by an illegal conviction; nor to do any thing but as you will answer the great God; for we have a tenderness to your consciences."

Joseph Sheldon. "Well, we must answer for what we do: take you no care for that," &c.

The witnesses being upon their oaths, one affirmed, that George Whitehead was preaching or teaching when they took him.

Joseph Sheldon commanded the witnesses to be gone or depart.

George Whitehead. "I desire the witnesses may stay till I have answered." But Joseph Sheldon urged them still to depart.

George Whitehead. "They have absolutely forsworn themselves; for I was not preaching nor teaching when they took me."

A person that stood by the justice said: "You were praying when they took you."

George Whitehead. "Take notice; this man has forsworn himself, in saying that I was preaching," &c. Nevertheless the clerk wrote down, George Whitehead an offender; but what judgment was given by the justices against him or John Bolton, they did not hear, either of fine or imprisonment at that time. The Lord was pleased sometimes to touch the consciences, even of some of the magistrates and our adversaries, whereby they were stopped in their proceedings, and pre-

vented from running us to the extreme severity and penalties of the persecuting laws.

On the 26th day of the 4th month, 1670, being the first day of the week, our Friends being again assembled in their meeting place aforesaid, in White-hart court, Sir Samuel Starling, then lord mayor, and some others, having ordered a priest to be there, he read common prayer and preached a sermon in the gallery; seeming to preach up and excite to love, according to these scriptures of Paul, *Ephes.* v. 2, and iv. 2, 15, &c. The commendation of love, &c. being the priest's chief subject; but contrary thereto, in the time of his preaching, the soldiers being present to guard him and disturb us, were rude and abusive to divers of our Friends, for speaking a few words to the priest, to show him how contrary their actions were to his preaching; though he did not rebuke nor stop them from their rudeness and violence to our Friends, women as well as men.

A great concourse of people were present at the meeting; many to attend the priest, and many out of curiosity and novelty, to hear and see what work the priest and his company would make; for it seemed a very strange thing, to see a minister of the Church of England, stand up and read common prayer, say or sing their service, and preach in a Quaker's meeting, *deemed an unlawful conventicle;* and therein to preach up love and charity, and at the same time to be attended and guarded with a company of soldiers, to apprehend and persecute the Quakers, for an unlawful meeting or conventicle at the same time and place.

After sermon was ended, George Whitehead stood up and preached the gospel of peace and love, to show how contrary thereto persecution was, &c. Whereupon the people present were quiet and still, and gave audience; and the meeting was in a peaceable posture for a little time, until two rude fellows, with the soldiers following them, violently pulled the said George down, and by their force pushed down some women present, and carried him to the mayor's and kept him

a while in his yard. His name and some false information against him, being carried in to the mayor, he quickly sent out a warrant to commit him to the compter, then in the gatehouse at Bishopsgate, for making a disturbance, &c. until he should find sureties or was delivered by law; and this without first calling in or admitting George Whitehead to be heard in his own defence.

But George Whitehead obtaining a sight of the warrant of commitment, desired to speak with the lord mayor himself, which some of his officers made way for; whereupon George Whitehead told the mayor, that there was a mistake in the warrant, which was that charge against him for making a disturbance, &c. for there was no such thing; he made no disturbance, but contrariwise, quieted the people by seasonable advice and counsel. To which the mayor said, he would examine further into it after evening prayer; but in the mean time sent George Whitehead to the compter at Bishopsgate, and in the evening sent for him again; and then said to George Whitehead: "Your women have disturbed the minister;" asking him further: "Do they not disturb you?" George Whitehead answered: "That there was a concourse of people of all sorts, many not being our Friends, who made a noise; but for our women, some did speak something as they might judge it their duty; and probably some thought they might, seeing the priest's hearers did speak; the priest one sentence and they another, that is, in their versicles; and when they cried, Lord have mercy upon us, some of the women did cry, 'Woe to you hypocrites.'"

After other discourse between George Whitehead and the mayor, the constable and another with him were sworn; and all that they could testify was, that he stood up and preached after their minister had ended; but what he preached they could not tell. The mayor said: If the minister had done all, it was a con-

venticle, and I must fine you twenty pounds. And then after he said, forty pounds.

George Whitehead said: "If I had preached sedition or discord, against either the government or peace of the nation, if that could be made appear against me, I might justly suffer by this law; being entitled, an act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. But seeing the witnesses cannot tell what I did preach, I may signify the substance and tendency thereof, viz. a necessity being laid upon me, woe had been unto me if I had not preached the Gospel; and it was no other than the Gospel of peace and salvation by Christ Jesus, that I preached; to exalt the power of godliness, directing people thereunto in Christ, that they might not remain under empty and lifeless, or dead forms of professions," &c.

The mayor said: "I believe both you and others do good, or have done good with your acting," &c.

Observation. "See then how evident it is, that what we suffer is for doing good, and not for any sedition or injury."

The mayor said: "Well, I must fine you forty pounds, this being the second offence; you were convicted before Sir Joseph Sheldon once before."

George Whitehead "Must I suffer for preaching the Gospel of peace, as if I had been preaching sedition? This is strange: doth the law make no difference? Besides, I was not convicted according to this law before justice Sheldon; for it was there made appear, that the witness forswore himself against me, as some there that stood by testified; for he swore that he took me preaching, when many could testify, as some there did affirm, that I was praying, and not at that time preaching.

Mayor. "But were you on your knees with your hat off, when they took you?"

George Whitehead. "Yea, I was; and the meeting was in a reverent posture of prayer, the men with their hats

off; and the soldiers pulled me down when I was praying."

Mayor. "However, you were in a religious exercise," &c.

George Whitehead. "If praying to God must be accounted a religious exercise not allowed by the Liturgy; yet I do not understand that praying is included in that clause, which mentions preaching or teaching, &c. As where it is said: 'That every person who shall take upon him to preach, or teach in any such meeting, assembly, or conventicle, and shall thereof be convicted as aforesaid, shall forfeit for every such first offence, the sum of twenty pounds.' Now here is no praying mentioned; therefore I desire thy judgment, whether preaching or teaching can be meant praying?"

Mayor. "No, praying is not there mentioned; however your conviction is recorded, you may make your appeal."

George Whitehead. "To whom shall I make my appeal, but to those that wrong me?"

Mayor. "I must do according to law; I must fine you forty pounds."

George Whitehead. "Then I must be fined for preaching the Gospel of peace, as if I had been preaching sedition: by this it is all a case, to preach sedition or the Gospel of peace. But such a law as makes no difference between preaching sedition, and preaching the Gospel of peace, I must deny as being both against reason and against God. And God who judges righteously, and by whom actions are weighed, will judge between thee and us in this thing."

I do not remember that the fine threatened upon this pretended conviction, was ever levied upon my goods; though divers others were to great excess.

At another time, on a 4th day of the week, I was taken out of a meeting at White-hart court, by an officer abetted by some others, and had before the said Samuel Starling, lord mayor; where information was given against me, that I was taken at such a meeting;

and the question being: What did I do there? or, what manner of religious exercise had we? The officer answered: He took me preaching. The mayor would needs have it, that it was a conventicle; and our exercise of religion contrary, or not according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England. I answered: "The witness does not prove that." He questioned if the Liturgy or common prayer was read among us at that meeting? I told him, "he should not proceed against me beyond his evidence: what says the witness? we are not bound to accuse ourselves: the witness does not say any such thing, as that we exercised religion contrary to the Liturgy; neither does he evidence that we had not the Liturgy read among us; he can only say, he came into the meeting when I was preaching and took me preaching; but does not know what I preached: so that he came into the meeting in sermon time, and the Liturgy or common prayer used not to be read in sermon time." This allegation I used to him, because he deemed our meeting as a conventicle, and unlawful if the common prayer was not read in it; and therefore I urged the evidence he had, which did not prove the matter of fact against me, or any of us who were at the said meeting; so that he could not reasonably proceed against us upon the evidence given; yet I told him our manner of religious exercise was well known.

I had some religious discourse with the said lord mayor at some certain times, and endeavoured to possess him with better principles than those of persecution, &c.; he being something of a professor of religion, and sometimes touched with Truth, carried it more fairly toward me than some other persecutors did, and I had some fairer quarter from him than from some other magistrates; he was not one of the worst of persecutors in those days, though sometimes too much concerned with others in that unchristian work of persecution.

On the 17th day of the 5th month, 1670, being the

first day of the week, Friends were kept without doors in the street, near their meeting house, at Peel in St John's street, by the rude soldiers and a constable; and when two men spake a few words of truth and soberness, the soldiers came and violently pulled them away; and as they came to take them, some were so violent that they pushed divers, both men and women, with their muskets, and tore part of Mary Wicks's clothes and pinched her, bruising some of the men Friends with their muskets; whereupon one Friend cried out to the constable, to keep the peace.

George Whitehead, near the latter end of the meeting, being moved in much tenderness and brokenness of spirit to call upon the Lord in prayer, the soldiers came rudely, and violently pulled him away into the entry among them. He told them of their wickedness and incivility toward the women, and how below both soldiers and the spirit of men they acted, in abusing both peaceable men and women as they had done. Presently after they pulled into their centry or guard, John Scott and Samuel Richardson, and these three they detained in their custody near three hours; and then a great company of soldiers guarded them into an ale house near Clerkenwell, where two justices were, viz. justice Foster and justice Boules, with a great company of the king's horsemen or guard before the door.

As George Whitehead and his Friends were brought to the door, he called out for justice, saying: "I am glad we are come before the civil magistrates; we desire justice of you against the soldiers, who have kept us out of our meeting in the street, and taken us contrary to law, even contrary to the present act of Parliament; which requires not them to meddle with meetings, unless where resistance is made, and upon certificate thereof, as the act mentions."

George Whitehead several times called for justice, as they would answer to the great God of heaven and earth, who will judge righteously between us. The justice said: "You shall have justice." Whereupon a

major on horseback said to the justice: "Sir, he will preach till night if you will hear him."

The justice bowed with his hat off to the major, and showed him great reverence and readiness to convict the prisoners. The major and captain with others alighted, and came in to see the two justices do their work against the prisoners; and the red coats were called, and many of them came in to bear witness against us; but George Whitehead excepted against them as unlawful witnesses. Howbeit, contrary to law and equity, they were put upon their oaths to witness against the prisoners; the justices not at all cautioning them to take heed what they swore; but the major did. What they informed against George Whitehead upon oath was, that there were about three hundred persons met in the street; and that they took him *preaching*, standing on a bulk or stall.

George Whitehead answered: "That is not true; I was *praying* standing on the ground, but leaning on a stall."

Soldiers. "We took him praying, but leaning on a bulk."

George Whitehead. "See how confused and contradictory they are in their evidence, for preaching and praying are two things; neither is praying mentioned in that clause of the act, that is made against such as take upon them to preach or teach."

Justice Foster. "You conjured them together to the meeting."

George Whitehead. "That is not true; for they were gathered together before I came to the meeting."

Major. "He does as much as tell the justice he lies."

George Whitehead. "I do not tell him he lies; but I say again, it is false that I conjured the people together." The major reproved the soldiers for going beyond his order, in going out into the street to take our Friends; saying: "I gave you order only to keep them out in the street, and you to keep centry at the door."

Justice Boules. "Sir, but after you were gone, I ordered them to take those that preached, and I thank them," &c.

Justice Foster. "What a devil did you come to pray for?"

George Whitehead. "Do these words become a magistrate? We did not meet to hear or sing ballads in the street, nor do we meet at play-houses, nor at drinking houses, to be drunk where the devil is served; but singly to serve and worship the living God, for which we suffer.

"I accuse none; but tell you what meetings we do not come at nor own, and for what end we do meet," &c.

The information the soldiers gave against John Scott was, that they took him preaching; which was, because when they came with violence he desired them to be moderate; and what crime did he thereby commit?

Their information against Samuel Richardson was, that he laid violent hands upon one of their muskets; but this was utterly false, and denied by Samuel Richardson; for he was standing peaceably, as he said, with his hands in his pocket in the meeting.

Then the justices seeming to incline to convict the prisoners upon the act against conventicles, George Whitehead had a few words with them about it, pleading to prevent their severity. But justice Foster urging to have them convicted, two warrants were made, and the said George Whitehead, John Scott, and Samuel Richardson were had to New-prison by the constable and soldiers; the troopers all the time of their examination standing before the door where they were.

It was observable, in their mittimus they missed setting down George Whitehead's name; and instead thereof set down Arthur Cotten, who was a soldier that helped to take them.

The next day after the commitment, the two justices aforesaid came to the prison; and when they had called George Whitehead into the room to them, they ask-

ed him his name and place, which he answered; and then they spoke to this purpose, that they had several laws which they could proceed upon against him, and particularly the statute of Oxford, the oath, &c.

The clerk having the oath of allegiance in his hand, written with blanks left for the names, and a law book before them.

George Whitehead answered: "I desire you would not go about to ensnare us, for the law was not made to make men transgressors, but to punish them where it finds such. We were apprehended and accused as breakers of the late act against conventicles; let us first be tried upon that act, and cleared, and not have new snares laid for us."

Justice Foster. "We will not lay snares for you; if you will pay your twenty pounds you shall be discharged."

George Whitehead answered something about the said act, as not justly chargeable thereby; but they quickly caused him to withdraw, and called in John Scott, who had a long discourse with them; they accused him for being an old soldier, and proffered him the oath according to the Oxford act, made against nonconformist ministers, &c.; which he refusing to take, they threatened to detain him in prison six months. After which they again called in George Whitehead and Samuel Richardson, and asked George Whitehead if he would pay his twenty pounds? and if he would promise to come no more at the meeting at Peel?

George Whitehead answered: "I cannot pay any fine for praying to God, or worshipping Him; and as for promising to come no more there, I am not my own, I stand in the will of God: neither can I promise any such thing, as to forbear coming to worship or pray to God."

One of them asked Samuel Richardson: "Will you promise to come no more at meeting."

Samuel Richardson. "I can promise no such thing."

So they having fined George Whitehead twenty

pounds, as they said, but it was not levied, and Samuel Richardson five shillings, they discharged them. But detained John Scott in prison six months, on the Oxford act supposed; though he was no nonconformist minister nor pretending to holy orders; and then what great crime had they against him, in his desiring moderation from the rude and violent soldiers!

We were sensible of the Lord's power and presence, and that He stood by us and strengthened us, in bearing our faithful Christian testimony for his name and and worship, through all these exercises and persecutions; and I was sensible also, that the Lord our God would plead our innocent cause, and that He often did plead it, even in the consciences of many of our adversaries, prosecutors, and judges, and that sometimes they were hard put to it, to carry on their work against us; and many times the Lord our God was pleased so to restrain the remainder of their wrath, as not to suffer them to proceed to the execution thereof, nor of the evils thereby designed: glory, honour, and dominion, be to our God and to the Lamb, for ever and ever!

In the 8th month, 1670, having been in the country and returning to London, I grew sick; and my sickness turning to an ague and fever, I became very weak in body, so that for some weeks there appeared little hopes of recovery; and I remained in much weakness until about the beginning of the second month, 1671, and part of that summer; and then it pleased the Lord gradually to restore me to health and strength.

In that sickness, when most weak in body, being well prepared and freely resigned in the will of the Lord to die, that I might ever be with Him; I had an opening or apprehension, that when I died my soul should be received into the bosom of my Heavenly Father.

While I was in great weakness of body, I was divers times told of the great and cruel suffering of our Friends in Southwark, for meeting together at their usual meeting-place at Horslydown; how barbarously and cruelly they were used, and grossly abused by soldiers and

armed men, both horse and foot; being not only kept out of their meeting-house in the street, but both men and women were violently pushed with muskets and other weapons, beaten, bruised, hurt, and wounded, and much blood shed by the blows and wounds from those inhuman, cruel, and barbarous persecutors and brutish persons. The distressing accounts of these and such barbarities against the innocent, did very sorrowfully affect me; and I deeply sympathized in spirit with the innocent sufferers, earnestly praying to Almighty God for them, that He would preserve and deliver them, and rebuke that persecuting spirit by which they suffered: earnest prayers, with tears, being then the Church's very great concern, which the Lord our God in his own time graciously heard and answered: blessed be his name!

The barbarous persecution against our said meeting in Southwark, was caused by the following order.

"At the Court at Whitehall, the 20th of July, 1670.

Present,

The Kings Most Excellent Majesty.

His Highness prince Rupert	Earl of Anglesey
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury	Earl of Bath
Lord Keeper	Earl of Craven
Duke of Monmouth	Lord Ashley
Duke of Ormond	Mr. Treasurer
Earl of Ossory	Mr. Vice-Chamberlain
Earl of Oxford	Mr. secretary Trevor.

His majesty being informed, that there have been of late, frequent conventicles and seditious meetings, under pretence of religious worship, contrary to and in contempt of the laws established, at a house or building at Horslydown, adjoining to the artillery garden; and that the persons who there assemble behave themselves in such a riotous and tumultuous manner, that if their meetings be any longer endured, his majesty's peace and the quiet of the government will thereby be manifestly

endangered. For the prevention whereof it was this day ordered, his majesty present in council and by his express command, that Christopher Wren, esq. surveyor general of his majesty's works, do cause the said house or building to be pulled down and demolished, in case from henceforth any persons whatsoever, shall presume to meet or hold any conventicle or unlawful assembly therein, under colour of religious worship: and it was further ordered by his majesty, that this signification of this his royal pleasure, be affixed on the said building; to the end that the owners and occupiers of the same may take notice thereof, to prevent and hinder such meetings at their peril.

"JOHN NICHOLAS."

This order was both affixed on the door of the meeting-house and soon after put in execution; for they sent and very much spoiled and pulled down the meeting-house, and took away the boards, windows, benches, and forms, and sold them.

It is observable, that there was no judicial trial or legal proceeding in this hard case, but an order grounded upon information of our meetings being conventicles, seditious, riotous, and tumultuous; which information was altogether unjust, and notoriously false.

Howbeit, our innocent Friends, as obliged in conscience toward Almighty God, resolved to keep their solemn meetings in His dread and fear; not being terrified therefrom by the rage and violence of their persecutors, but constantly resorted to their said meeting-house on first days, while it was standing; and after it was pulled down removed the rubbish, that they might meet on the ground where their own house stood; which they did, until by force haled away and barbarously used by the soldiers.

On the 25th of the 7th month, 1670, Friends being peaceably assembled at their usual meeting-place aforesaid; there came some musqueteers and haled them forth into the street, where the troopers came and

rode in among them, in a violent, furious manner, beating and abusing both men and women, punching them in the face and bodies with their carbines; and soon after the foot soldiers came and fell upon them also, and beat both men and women in a cruel and outrageous manner, also punching them on the feet with the but-ends of their muskets, till they broke some of them; also running the muzzle of their muskets violently against the bodies of many; and then a party of horse came desperately and strove to ride over them; but the horses being more merciful or naturally more gentle than the riders, would not go forward to tread the people underfoot; then the riders turning them, curbed and reigned them to do mischief.

The number of those that were wounded and sorely bruised this day, was above twenty persons.

On the 2nd day of the 8th month, they being kept out of their meeting-place aforesaid, there came a party of foot and a party of horse, and laid on Friends in a violent and cruel manner, knocking them with their muskets and pikes, and the horsemen with their carbines, until the blood lay in the streets; and so they continued for some time, until they broke several pikes and muskets and one carbine; and several were so beaten and bruised that their lives were in danger. They that were wounded and sorely bruised this day, were above thirty persons.

On the 9th of the 8th month, the soldiers, horse and foot, came to the meeting at the aforesaid place; and one of them having a shovel, threw dirt and mire upon both men and women, in a shameful manner. After him, both horse and foot furiously fell upon them; striking and knocking down, without regard to age or sex, in a very cruel manner, until they shed blood from many. And when some of the inhabitants in pity took them into their houses, to save their lives, the soldiers forced open the doors and haled them out again into the street, and plucked off their hats that they might strike on their bare heads, insomuch that many had

their heads broken in a grievous manner; and thus they continued for some time; also tearing men and women's clothes off their backs, and haling women through the mire by their horses' sides; some of the foot soldiers using obscene expressions, and very indecent behaviour. A red coat soldier struck one woman Friend twice on the body with his musket, and once on the breast; another flung dirt in her face, so that she miscarried, and hath never since been well through their abuses; whereby she did both lose her child, and her own life was greatly endangered. A man Friend, after he had suffered by blows, was carried into the meeting-place, where one demanded his money and endeavoured to rifle his pockets, cursing and threatening he would stab him, if he did not give it him; again swearing that he would pistol him.

The number of those sorely bruised, and that had of their blood shed that day, was above fifty persons.

And on the 16th day of the 8th month, 1670, being again kept out of their meeting-place, there came a party of horse and foot ready to fall again violently upon our Friends; but some constables for some little time kept them off. Howbeit, at last they broke out into a rage, and some of the foot with the but-ends of their muskets, and the horsemen with great truncheons and staves, did so furiously lay on and beat them who were met, as if they would have killed all in the place; causing the blood to run down about the ears of many, insomuch that above twenty persons then received sore wounds and bruizes; and one constable endeavouring to stop them from shedding blood, and to keep the peace, they fell upon him also and broke his head; and when they were reprehended for their cruelty, some answered: "If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you."

The substance of the foregoing account was presented to the king and his council, and for a time there was some cessation of these cruelties; but afterward they begun in the like manner, though not to the same de-

gree, yet with great threatenings to be worse and worse towards our Friends; which could not well be, except they were directly to commit murder on the place.

It was observed, that when the troopers and soldiers have come and thus abused and wounded the innocent, some have asked them, saying: "How can you deal thus with a people that have love and good will to all men, and make no resistance nor opposition?" They have replied: "We had rather and it would be better for us, if they did resist and oppose:" as if they wanted occasion to embrue their hands in innocent blood, and have the lives and estates of honest people for a prey. But as they never could get any such occasion against us, so the Lord our most gracious God, for his own name and Truth's sake, restrained the remainder of our adversaries' wrath, frustrated their evil purposes, and disappointed their mischievous designs. And in Him we have trusted, who has helped and delivered us out of many troubles.

SECTION XII.

Persecution continued with little abatement till the king's declaration in 1672.—George Whitehead successfully applies to the king for the liberation of about four hundred of his friends—He travels with the king's Letters patent under the great seal, to obtain the discharge of his friends in Essex, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Hertfordshire. He consults Judge Hale on the release of Friends in the distant counties—Procures their release by means of the sheriffs coming to London.

There was but little respite from persecution in twelve years time, from the year 1660 to 1672, in which was the last war at sea betwen the English and Dutch; so that one judgment and calamity followed another, plague, fire, and war, unto great depopulation and devastation, showing God's heavy displeasure against persecution and cruelty, and that spirit which had been so highly at work against innocent, conscientious, and honest people; yet many persecutors were so hardened, that they repented not of their cruelties, and we have observed in our times, how suddenly the Lord swept away many of that sort.

Howbeit by this time, 1671–2, the king did seem to bethink himself, to take other measures than to continue persecution to destroy his own subjects, not knowing what issue the Dutch war against him might come to; insomuch that he published a declaration of indulgence to dissenters, to suspend the execution of penal laws in matter ecclesiastical, entitled,

"*His majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects, dated March* 15, 1671 2. *Published by the advice of his Privy Council.*" *The principal heads whereof are as follows, viz.*

"Our care and endeavours for the preservation of the

rights and interests of the church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of our government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion that we have used for reducing all erring and dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return.

"But it being evident, by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all those forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several statutes and acts of parliament.

"And therefore we do now accordingly issue out this our declaration, as well for the quieting the minds of our good subjects in these points, for inviting strangers in this juncture to come and live under us, and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings; from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government.

"And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning, and intention to be, that the Church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline, and government, as now it stands established by law, &c.

"We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists or Recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended. And all judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, &c. are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereunto.

"And we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, to

meet and assemble in, in order to their public worship and devotion: which places shall be open and free to all persons.

"To prevent such disorders and inconveniencies as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate, our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until the same be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.

"And—we do further declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of public places of worship, and approbation of teachers, shall extend to all sorts of non-conformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom we shall in no wise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the execution of the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

"And if after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall presume to abuse this liberty, and preach seditiously, &c.—We will let them see we can be as severe to punish such offenders—as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences."*

* There is every reason to believe, that this declaration of the king was mainly, if not wholly designed to favour the advancement of Popery and arbitrary government; and that if he had been able to effect his purposes, both in regard to civil and ecclesiastical matters, the dissenters would have been placed in even a worse situation than before.

It is not at all surprising, that a people so deeply oppressed as the Quakers were at this time, and taking so little part in political affairs, should see, in the declaration, the *favour* rather than the *danger*. Neal says: "The protestant non-conformists had no opinion of the *dispensing power*, and were not forward to accept of liberty in that way; they were sensible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer than it would serve the interest of popery." Other motives, however, than the fear of popery, appear to have influenced many of the non-conformists. They did not approve of a *general toleration;* but "maintained that it was setting up altar against altar, and that they should accept of nothing but a *comprehension*," in other words,

This declaration may, however, justly be said to record the result of king Charles's terrible experiment, during twelve years, to compose matters of difference in religion, and to reduce what he called erring and dissenting persons, by "forcible courses;" an experiment made in direct opposition to the declaration from Breda. The confession of the result which the declaration contains, was, there is reason to believe, far from being generally palatable; independently of the political objection to the mode in which it was made. It gave, nevertheless, a great check to persecution, and enabled both the Quakers and other dissenters, to meet for religious worship without disturbance, and without being a prey to the rapine of wicked informers.

There were, however, at this time, above four hundred Friends in prison, for conscience' sake: some were under sentence of banishment, some of premunire, and some had endured ten or eleven years' imprisonment.

The state of these his suffering brethren deeply affected the mind of George Whitehead; and chiefly through his instrumentality the king was induced to discharge most of them, to remit their fines, and release, by his letters patent under the great seal, the estates of those who had forfeited them under judgment of premunire.*

Of his proceedings in this cause George Whitehead has given an account, too curious and interesting to be omitted or curtailed.

After speaking of his deep concern for his suffering Friends, he says:

that they should be admitted to full liberty, and a share in church preferments, and that others should not be *tolerated*. The Quakers always desired the free exercise of conscience for *all*, they had therefore no objection to the king's declaration on the ground of its *universality*. The Presbyterians also generally concluded that it was best to accept of the liberty granted them by the king; and some, says Neal, "endeavoured to prove that it was their duty to do so because it was their natural right; which no legislative power on earth had a right to deprive them, as long as they remained dutiful subjects."—*See Neal, vol. 2 page*, 559. *See also Rapin.*

I was moved to write a few lines to the king, requesting their liberty, which I intimated to our honest and loving Friend, Thomas Moor, who was often willing to move the king in behalf of our suffering Friends for their liberty, the king having some respect to him; for he had an interest with the king and some of his council, more than many others had; and I desired him to present my few lines to the king, which he carefully did; and a few days after, both he and myself had access into the king's presence, and renewed our request which I had made to him in my letter; whereupon the king granted us liberty to be heard on Friday, as he said, before the council, being the next council day the same week.

And then Thomas Moor, myself, and our friend Thomas Green, attended at the council chamber at Whitehall, and were all admitted before the king and a full council, and being called to go up before the king, who was at the upper end of the board, I had a fair opportunity to open the case of our suffering Friends as a conscientious people, chiefly to show the reason of our not swearing allegiance to the king; that it was not in any contempt or disrespect, either to the king's person or government, but singly as it was a matter of conscience to us, not to swear at all, in any case, and that in sincere obedience to Christ's command and Gospel ministry, *Mat.* v. and *James* v. When I had openly and more fully pleaded our suffering Friends' case, the king gave this answer, viz. 'I'll pardon them,' &c.

Whereupon Thomas Moor pleaded the innocency of our Friends, that they needed no pardon, being innocent, &c. The king's own warrant in a few lines will discharge them; for, where the word of a king is, there is power, said Thomas Moor. The king answered: "O, Mr. Moor, there are persons as innocent as a child, or children, new born, that are pardoned, that is, from the penalties of the law; you need not scruple a pardon," &c. The lord keeper added: "I have told them that they cannot be legally discharged, but by a pardon

under the great seal." Then stood up Duke Lauderdale, and made his reflection upon what Thomas Moor said, in this manner:

"May it please your majesty, I wonder that these men should be no better counselled to accept of your gracious pardon; for if your majesty should by your own private warrant release them out of prison, their prosecutors may put them into prison again the next day; and still their estates, forfeited to you upon premunire, remain confiscate; so that their persons and estates cannot be safely discharged, without your majesty's pardon under the great seal." With which the rest of the council concurred.

Whereunto I returned this answer, viz. "It is not for us to prescribe, or dictate to the king and his council, what methods to take for our Friends' discharge; they know best their own methods in point of law; we seek the end thereof, namely, the effectual discharge of our suffering Friends out of prison, that they may live peaceably, and quietly enjoy their own," &c.

Whereupon they all appeared satisfied, and the king said: "Well, I'll pardon or discharge them," &c.

After more discourse between the king and us, I looked about on the council, and in the Lord's power thus declared, viz. "I do not question but God at times inclines your hearts to tenderness towards the sufferers, especially those for conscience' sake. O! therefore take notice thereof, and mind that tenderness, and that which inclines your hearts to commiserate their conditions, who have long groaned and lain under heavy burdens, and sore oppressions," &c.

"As for our refusing the oath of allegiance, for which many suffer in prisons, God doth bear us witness, yea, God doth bear the sufferers record, that it is not from a disaffection to the king or government, but singly for conscience' sake, because it is an oath;" concluding with these words, "'This is the fast the Lord requires, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go

free.'" Being near the time of an appointed fast as I remember.

Pursuant to the king's promise of pardon, &c. the following order was given.

"At the Court at Whitehall, the 8th of May, 1672.

"Whereas, his Majesty of his princely clemency, was graciously pleased to direct, that letters should be written from this board, to the sheriffs of the respective counties and cities, and counties and towns, and counties within his majesty's kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, requiring them to return perfect lists and calenders of the names, time, and causes of commitment of all such prisoners, called Quakers, as remain in their several gaols or prisons, which they accordingly did; and the same were by order of his majesty in council, of the third instant, delivered into the hands of the right honourable the lord keeper of the great seal of England, who having considered thereof, did this day return them again, together with his opinion thereupon, as followeth, viz.

"The Returns that are made touching the prisoners, in the several gaols, are of several kinds.

"1. All such of them as are returned to be convicted, to be transported, or to be convicted of a premunire, upon whose convictions I suppose judgment was given, are not legally to be discharged, but by his majesty's pardon under the great seal.

"2. All such that are returned to be in prison upon writs of excommunicato capiendo, not mentioning the cause, ought not to be discharged till the cause appears; for if it be for tithes, legacies, defamations, or other private interests, they ought not to be discharged till the parties be satisfied.

"3. All those that are returned in prison for debt, or upon exchequer process, or of any of the other courts at Westminister, are not so discharged, till it be known

for what cause those processes issued, and those debts be discharged.

"4. Those that are in prison for not paying their fines, ought not to be discharged without paying their fines, or a pardon.

"All the rest I conceive may be discharged.

"Which being this day taken into consideration, his majesty was graciously pleased to declare, that he would pardon all those persons called Quakers, now in prison for any offence committed relating only to his majesty, and not to the prejudice of any other person. And it was thereupon ordered by his majesty in council, that a list of the names of the Quakers in the several prisons, together with the causes of their commitment, be, and is herewith sent to his majesty's attorney general, who is required and authorized to prepare a bill for his majesty's royal signature, containing a pardon to pass the great seal of England, for all such to whom his majesty may legally grant the same. And in case of any difficulty, that he attend the lord keeper, and receive his directions therein.

"EDWARD WALKER."

Here follows a copy also of the king's warrant to the attorney general.

"Our will and pleasure is, that you prepare a bill fit for the royal signature, and to pass our great seal of England, containing our gracious pardon unto &c. [the place of the prisoners names.] Of all offences, contempts and misdemeanors by them, or any of them committed before the twenty-first day of July, 1672, against the several statutes made in the first, twenty-third, and thirty-fifth years of the reign of queen Elizabeth; in the third year of the reign of our late royal grandfather, king James; and in the sixteenth year of our reign—in not coming to church and hearing Divine service; in refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and frequenting or being present at seditious conventi-

cles; and of all premunires, judgments, convictions, sentences of excommunication, and transportation thereupon: and of all fines, amercements, pains, penalties, and forfeitures whatsoever, thereby incurred, with restitution of lands and goods, and such other clauses, and nonobstantes, as may render this our pardon most effectual; for which this shall be your warrant.

"Given at Court at Whitehall, the —— day of June, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign.

"To our Attorney General."

After we had taken out the foregoing order and warrant, our Friend Thomas Moor and I delivered the same to the king's attorney general, Sir Heneage Finch. Thomas again scrupling the word pardon to him, as he had before to the king, &c. he took up Thomas somewhat short, telling him: "Mr, Moor, if you'll not accept of his majesty's pardon, I'll tell him you'll not accept thereof." Then to pacify him, I told him, that it was not our business to question, but accept what the king had granted for relief of our suffering Friends, that they might be released and discharged from their imprisonments and sufferings, &c. Whereupon he seemed satisfied.

And further to inform and satisfy Thomas Moor in the case, after we came out from the attorney general, I got him to return again with me to his clerk, one Sanders, an old man, who engrossed the king's letters patent, or pardons, that he might inform Thomas Moor of the nature and manner thereof, which he very fairly did; whereupon Thomas said, now it begins to have some shape, &c. And then was better satisfied, as better understanding the nature of that instrument than before.

His scruples or objections against the word pardon, or its being necessary to our suffering Friends, were upon these tender points.

1. That they being innocent persons, needed no pardon, as criminals do.

2. That their testimony for Christ Jesus allowed of no pardon; neither indeed can we allow, or accept of any man's pardon in that case, singly considered; we cannot give away the cause of Christ, or our sincere obedience to Him, as any offence or crime, needing any pardon or forgiveness from men; nor does Christ require us to ask it of Him, in that wherein we truly obey Him, but accepts and approves of us therein.

But then on the other hand, we must reasonably allow of this distinction; that wherein we, or our Friends were judged or condemned by human laws, and the ministers thereof, unto imprisonments, fines, forfeitures, premunires, confiscation of estates to the king, and power given him to banish us, and thereby we made debtors to him. The king has power to remit, pardon, or forgive what the law has made a debt to him, as well as any creditor has power to forgive a debt owing him; and so to pardon and release his debtor out of prison.

The case is plain, and the distinction evident.

Neither pope, priest, nor prince can acquit or pardon men in the sight of God, for offences against Him; but the king may forgive debts owing by law to him, and release and re-convey his subjects' estates by law forfeit to him, or else he has less power than any of them. An earthly king cannot pardon a guilty conscience before God; but he can forgive debts owing him, and release estates forfeit to him, as well as persons who are within his power to release: good conscience and well-doing need no pardon, but deserve praise.

Besides in this case of our premunired Friends, if the king had not reconveyed their estates, as he did, by his letters patents, under the great seal of England, from him and his heirs, to them and their heirs, they had remained forfeit, and liable to future claims, and the proper owners to be dispossessed thereof; and therefore the report and counsel of the lord keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgman, to the king, in our Friends'

case, before related, was both legal and safe for their discharge; being also recorded in the several offices, where patents and pardons are kept upon record, to have recourse to in cases of necessity.

The attorney general ordered his principal clerk —— Nicolls, to draw up the said bill, to contain the king's letters patents, for a full discharge and release of our suffering Friends from their imprisonments, sentence of banishment, fines, forfeitures, premunire, &c. which when he had done, I got Ellis Hooks, our writer, to draw out four or five fair copies thereof for expedition, to be passed and entered and remain upon record, in the several offices which the same was to pass through; as the privy seal, the signet, the patent, and hannaper offices, &c.

And understanding that, because of the great number in the patent, great fees would be required in most of those offices, except the lord keeper's, who had promised to remit his fee, and that he would ask none of us; which was a kindness, for there being above four hundred names of the sufferers, in one and the same instrument, to be discharged; we understood they would demand a great fee for each person, because, as we heard, it would cost one single person twenty or thirty pounds charge in fees, to get a patent or pardon through all these offices, to pass under the great seal of England: insomuch that we were constrained to make further application to the king, to remit, or abate, the great fees, &c. Whereupon the king gave order, according to our request, as followeth.

Locus Sigilli.

His majesty is pleased to command, that it be signified as his pleasure to the respective offices and sealers, where the pardon to the Quakers is to pass, that the pardon though comprehending great numbers of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one.

Arlington.

At the Court at Whitehall,
the 13th of Sept. 1672.

Though we had this warrant from the king, yet we had trouble from some of the covetous clerks, who did strive hard to exact upon us.

When the instrument for discharge of the prisoners was granted to our Friends, there being other dissenters besides Quakers, in some prisons, as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents, some of their solicitors, especially one William Carter, seeing what way we had made with the king, for our Friends' release, desired their friends in prison might be discharged with ours, and have their names in the same instrument; and earnestly requested my advice or assistance, which I was very willing to give in compassion to them; and accordingly, I advised them to petition the king, with the names of the prisoners in it, for his warrant, to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers, which accordingly they did petition for, and obtain.

So that there are a few names of other dissenters, who were prisoners in * Bedfordshire, Kent, and Wiltshire, as I remember, in the same catalogue and instrument with our Friends, and released thereby: which I was also very glad of, that they partook of the same benefit, through our industry. Our being of different judgments and societies, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards those who have been my opposers in some cases. Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the Father and Fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us, should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to another, we being required to love mercy, as well as to do justly, and to walk humbly with the Lord our God.

After the king had signed a copy of the said instrument, on several skins of parchment, and we had got it engrossed aforehand for expedition, in the patent office, in chancery hand, as is usual, and had then got it pass-

* Amongst the names, I was glad to recognize that of the justly esteemed author of the Pilgrim's Progress, John Bunyan.
Editor.

ed under the great seal of England, there being eleven skins of vellum in chancery hand, it was swelled to that bigness, by reason the names of above four hundred persons were repeated eleven times over in it, that Ellis Hooks, and I, and some other Friends, were hard put to it and troubled, to find out a way or means to have it dispensed to all the prisons throughout England and Wales, where our Friends were confined; that they might be released in due time, and not be too long detained under confinement, as many had been; especially since with great industry we had obtained their discharge.

Howbeit we could not suddenly, nor easily find out an expedient sufficient, nor extensive enough to release all our Friends, prisoners in England and Wales, from east to west, and from south to north.

The best expedient I could at first pitch upon, was, to get two duplicates of the original instrument, prepared, and passed under the great seal, as the first was, which I got done very shortly; and then sent messengers on purpose with them several ways, to the sheriffs and gaolers; as into Sussex, Bucks, Oxford, Warwick, and Stafford, where our Friends had suffered long in their gaols, that they might be forthwith discharged out of prison; which accordingly was done, when the king's discharge under the great seal, was shown to the respective sheriffs and officers concerned, by our Friends, the messengers, sent on purpose to see our dear Friends released out of their long confinements.

And although at that time, I had been in long and great labours and solicitation, for the liberty of our oppressed Friends in prisons, and also thereby sometimes weakened and impaired in my health and strength; yet I was willing to undertake a journey into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire; to see our Friends released out of the gaols in those counties, as also in Huntingdon and Cambridge.

And Edward Man and William Gosnell of London, were willing to accompany me that journey: so having

the original patent, under the great seal, we all took horse early, and got to Chelmsford that day, and lodged at the inn by the prison that night; and the next day, the quarter sessions being to be held in that town, for the county of Essex; we went in the morning to several justices of peace, where they were together in another inn of the town. When we came before them, I gently told them our errand, and what was the intent of our coming there; and producing the king's letters patents, showed them what names of our Friends were in it, who then were prisoners in Chelmsford prison, and how in it they were discharged: they seeming somewhat surprised at the sight of such a great instrument, under the great seal of England, and that in favour of so many Quakers, and some of them having no good-will to us, seemed somewhat disgusted at our hats; however I friendly told them, I hope they would allow of the discharge, and release our Friends out of prison. So after they had it into court, they ordered our Friends who were in that prison, to be released.

So we proceeded forward in our journey towards Edmunds-Bury in Suffolk, in order to reach the quarter sessions there; which began the beginning of the week following the other in Essex; being about two or three days between each session, as I remember. The justices in Suffolk carried pretty fair towards us, and after viewing the king's discharge in court, seemed affected with it; but it so happened that all our Friends' names then in that prison, who were intended in the king's grant, were not in the said discharge, though their case was included, being the case of many others therein.

We could not suppose where the omission had happened, unless in the sheriff's return of the names and cases of Quakers in prison, which the king ordered. The under-sheriff took it somewhat hard, that we should suspect him for such omission; however I pressed the justices to release those Friends out of prison, whose names were omitted, seeing their case came under the

king's clemency, and they had right to their liberty as well as the rest, in point of justice: so their liberty was obtained, the justices not opposing but allowing thereof.

At that time while we were in Edmunds-Bury, I providentially and very opportunely met with the undersheriff for Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, who was a very fair, civil man; and showed him the king's patent, and the names of our Friends in it who then were prisoners in those two counties; and I desired him to see them delivered out of prison, in both counties; which he was very ready to undertake, and honestly performed, so far as ever I could hear.

From Bury we travelled into Norfolk, and to Norwich; and there meeting with the high-sheriff, got our Friends released, who were prisoners and named in the king's patent to be discharged.

We returned to Hertford in two days' time, before the quarter sessions there ended; and Henry Stout producing the said patent, the magistrates released those Friends, prisoners, that were concerned there.

In two weeks time we performed that journey and service for our suffering Friends, in the said counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Norwich, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Hertford.

When we were returned to London, we were yet more concerned for our suffering Friends in the more remote counties and prisons; namely, those in the northern and western parts of England, and also in Wales; for it was a difficult point and tedious undertaking, to send messengers into all those remote counties and places where many Friends were prisoners, with only three such great instruments under the great seal of England, as that original which we carried into Suffolk and Norfolk, and the two duplicates, which other Friends carried about into the other counties before mentioned. The patent we carried was so big and cumbersome, in a leathern case and tin box, and great seal to it, that Edward Man was so cumbered with

carrying it, hanging by his side, that he was fain to tie it across the horse's back behind him.

Now being sensible of the difficulty and delay it would be, to dispense the same to the several counties and gaols throughout England and Wales; and what a hard matter it would be to move the king again for any instrument, pursuant to his pardon already granted and confirmed, for their more speedy deliverance out of prisons so remote, either by proclamation or warrant from some of his privy council, or the secretary of state, or attorney general, or otherwise. And considering the great number of names and places mentioned in the said pardon, we did not then see how we could acceptably move for such an instrument or expedient. Besides, I having had so much wearisome toil and solicitation, for what we had already obtained for Friends' releasement; the labour and difficulties considered, I was minded to acquaint judge Hale, who was then chief justice, therewith, to see what he would say to it; if he could put us in a way to get our Friends released, who were in such remote prisons as before mentioned.

Whereupon I went to judge Hale's house at Acton, and our Friend Ellis Hooks with me; where we met with the judge at home, and I intimated our case and difficulty to him; which he fairly heard, and viewed over a copy of the king's pardon or letters patents, so termed. How to have the same dispensed, for the speedy release of our Friends throughout England and Wales, was our difficulty; and so many as the king had given his grant for their discharge under the great seal, we desired might be delivered out of prison before winter, which was then approaching; and considering, as I told him, that many of our Friends had lain long under strait confinements, it might be their death if they were detained much longer, especially in the winter season.

The judge appearing very serious and intent upon the matter, told us, that if they would remove themselves by *habeas corpus*, and come before him at the

king's bench: "I will release them," said he; that is, upon the king's pardon. I then signified to him, that would be such a hardship and hazard as we durst not put them upon; because of the remoteness of the counties in the north, &c. And divers prisoners' healths were so impaired by their long and hard confinements, that it might endanger their lives to remove them up to London, being one or two hundred miles or more; also many were much disabled and made poor by their sufferings and imprisonments, that the charge of such removal would be so great that it would be too heavy for them.

The judge then proposed something of an instrument from the attorney general: though it was not his place to give us counsel, as he said, yet he appeared willing to help our suffering Friends if he could, by proposing such expedients as he could then think of. His compassion and good will towards us, I could not but take notice of; and we parted kindly.

Yet hitherto we were at a loss, how to expedite our poor suffering Friends out of the remote prisons: by all the advice given to us, we could not get all our Friends actually delivered out of the gaols near so soon as I desired.

Howbeit, the Michaelmas term, as it is called, being then very near, and the under sheriffs coming out of the several remote counties to the term; I told Ellis Hooks we might take the great patent, and show to the sheriffs at their inns and offices, that they might draw out liberates and send to the gaols in their respective counties, to set our Friends at liberty.

We went to the sheriff of Yorkshire, who was an ancient man; and I showed him the patent and the names of the Friends who were prisoners in their county, and castle of York, and those principal clauses for their discharge; which he readily assented to, and bid us give him a copy thereof, and he would draw up and send a liberate to the gaoler for their release; which accordingly we did, and he performed.

I was thereby farther informed how we might hasten and dispatch our Friends' release, in other remote counties.

Whereupon I drew up an exact form of a liberate, agreeable to the king's patent, briefly comprehending the heads thereof which concerned the prisoners' discharge, and gave it Ellis Hooks, to transcribe so many copies thereof as we needed for the remaining remote counties, where our Friends were not set at liberty; with advice to him to insert the prisoners' names in each liberate respectively appertaining to the same county; as those in Montgomeryshire prison in a distinct warrant or liberate, for the sheriff of that county; and in like manner for the other counties and prisons in Wales, where Friends were detained. And the like particular warrants respectively, for the sheriffs of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, and for the rest of the counties, where Friends were not released out of prisons, I got liberates ready prepared for the sheriffs severally to sign and seal.

Ellis Hooks and I went to the sheriffs severally, at their inns and offices, and showed them the king's patent with the liberates, that they might see how agreeable they were; and they approved thereof, and readily signed and sealed each liberate; being a warrant to each gaoler, to set our Friends at liberty out of gaol in each county where they had been detained, as many of them had been for a long time; so that at last, through much labour, care, and diligence, the difficulty we had been under came to be removed, that is, the setting at liberty our dear Friends, by virtue of the king's letters patent, who were prisoners in the remote counties.

And I do in deep humility, tenderness of spirit, and with a thankful heart, retain the remembrance how the Lord our God helped and enabled me, to go through that great care and diligence, in solicitations for the liberty of my dear suffering Friends and brethren; and though I laboured for the same near six months toge-

ther before it was fully effected, the Lord gave me such great encouragement, peace, and comfort, in my daily endeavours for them; and my love towards them was such as made the same more easy to me; in all which I still have great satisfaction and peace, which remains with me, in Christ Jesus my Lord and my God. I bless his name and power which upheld and strengthened me: let Him have the glory, praise, and dominion for ever! saith my soul.

END OF VOLUME I.

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE WHITEHEAD;

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL

IN THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:

BEING THE SUBSTANCE

Of the

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

And published after his decease, in the year 1725,

UNDER THE TITLE OF

"His Christian Progress;"

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A SELECTION FROM HIS OTHER WORKS.

ALSO

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

By SAMUEL TUKE.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. II.

"If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

Philadelphia:

NATHAN KITE—64 WALNUT STREET.

1832.

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME THE SECOND.

SECTION XIII.

The parliament express to the king their dissatisfaction with his declaration.—Persecution renewed in 1673.—The case of Friends presented to the king in 1679.—George Whitehead and T. Burr imprisoned in Norwich in 1680, and proceedings of the quarter sessions.—Their manly and Christian defence on their trial. 9

SECTION XIV.

George Whitehead and Thomas Burr re-conveyed to prison—released at the next quarter sessions.—Distinction between the refusal of Friends to take the oath and that of the Papists.—Change in the sentiments of parliament respecting the persecution of dissenting protestants.—Bills for the relief of dissenters.—Character of informers.—Petition to the king.—A discourse with him.—G. Whitehead labours in the ministry and shares in the sufferings of his Friends. 37

SECTION XV.

Sufferings of Friends confined in Norwich, and endeavours for their release.—Persecution very severe.—G. Whitehead suffers by severe distraints in 1683.—Sufferings of Friends in London, and George Whitehead imprisoned in Newgate, 1684. 65

SECTION XVI.

Suffering state of the Society at the death of Charles II.—Representation of it by an interview with king James II. and address to him.—List of the sufferers.—Second interview with the king, and full representation of the Quakers' case addressed to him and to the parliament.—The king grants a general warrant for the release of the prisoners.—Commission granted on George Whitehead's application to the king to inquire into the dishonest practices of the informers.—Their suppression.—One of them in distress applies to George Whitehead, and is relieved by him. 82

SECTION XVII.

The state of Society in other parts of the nation.—Two meeting

houses seized and used by the soldiers.—Application to king James respecting this and other cases of suffering. 99

SECTION XVIII.

Proceedings in the reign of William and Mary—Respecting the act of toleration.—The case of Friends suffering for contempts, &c. —The obtaining of an act for the admission of the solemn affirmation of Friends instead of an oath. 113

SECTION XIX.

Brief notice of George Whitehead's further services. 142

Appendix. 149

A Christian Epistle to Friends in general. . . . 151

The people called Quakers truly represented, and vindicated from some mistakes in the Lower House of Convocation, &c. &c. 165

The Christian Doctrine and Society of the people called Quakers, &c. &c. 187

MEMOIRS, &c.

SECTION XIII.

The Parliament express to the king their dissatisfaction with his declaration.—Persecution renewed in 1673.—The case of Friends presented to the king in 1679.—George Whitehead and T. Burr imprisoned in Norwich in 1680, and proceedings of the quarter sessions.—Their manly and Christian defence on their trial.

The liberty granted to tender consciences by king Charles the Second's declaration, 1671–2, held not long; for the Parliament being not reconciled to the liberty granted and allowed thereby, took occasion against the said declaration, and moved the king to cancel and make it void; alleging that thereby he extended his prerogative too far, or advanced it above the law, by suspending the execution of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical; suggesting what dangerous consequence it might be of, to have such a precedent remaining. But they took no care of Christ's prerogative and government over the consciences of his subjects: they must be exposed to severe sufferings, oppressions, and cruelty, for conscience' sake towards Him, and for obeying his doctrine, chiefly in refusing to swear at all, and for solemnly meeting together in his name and spiritual worship.

If the Parliament and all parties who were displeased with the king's said declaration, because not an act of Parliament but of prerogative, had been so generous and noble as to have allowed a general liberty to tender consciences, or freedom from persecution, they might

easily have turned the substance or effect of the king's said declaration into an act of Parliament. And no doubt the king would readily have signed and confirmed the same, seeing he had so often not only publicly promised liberty to tender consciences, but also in his declaration from Breda positively and voluntarily promised, "That no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences in opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence."

And moreover, in the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, dated October the 25th, 1660, it is again declared: "In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our declaration from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences: that no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences in opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, &c."

And in the same declaration it is further said: "Our present consideration and work is, to gratify the private consciences of those who are grieved with the use of ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with, the omitting these ceremonies."

And in the king's speech to both houses of Parliament, the 8th of July, 1661: "It is to put myself in mind as well as you, that I so often (I think so often as I come to you) mention to you my declaration from Breda; and let me put you in mind of another declaration published by yourselves about the same time, and which I am persuaded made mine the more effectual. An honest, generous, and Christian declaration, signed by the most eminent persons who had been the most eminent sufferers; in which you renounced all former animosities, and the memory of all former unkindnesses. And, my lords and gentlemen, let it be in no man's power, to charge me or you with the breach of our words or promises, which can never be a good ingredient

to our future security." And in the chancellor's speech to both houses, May the 8th: "He told you but now, (meaning the king,) that he valued himself much upon keeping his word, upon performing all that he promiseth to his people."*

Now upon the whole it is observable, that when the king made and so often repeated those promises of liberty to tender consciences, there appeared no design of persecution, or intention thereof, to violate his promises, but the contrary, but how easy it might have been, to have established that liberty by a law: but too many selfish and partial men were otherwise minded; for before the reign of king Charles the Second was expired, some of these who were against his declaration aforesaid, would have had an "act of comprehension," to have included in the Church of England some parties of dissenters, as Presbyterians and such like, with allowances, exceptions, or limitations, so as not to be made conformable to the said Church, in all her articles, ceremonies, and formalities, but to have been dispensed with, or allowed in some things not esteemed essential; so as they might be comprehended or incorporated into one with the Church of England, exclusive of all other dissenters, more conscientious than themselves were in that point, since they could not come so near in a conformity or compliance as themselves; and therefore the most conscientious dissenters of all sorts, excluded the comprehension and not allowed a general liberty to exercise their religion and conscience, must still be exposed to persecution, suffering, and ruin, under the penal laws, if that partial project and comprehension had taken effect, by a church made up of presbytery and episcopacy: Oh then, who should have been suffer-

* George Whitehead's loyalty, and faith in the king's word appear to have been inextinguishable.

It is probable that his acquaintance with William Penn, who appears to have taken the most favourable view of the king's conduct as well as that of the duke of York, had considerable influence on George Whitehead. *Editor.*

ed to stand before them, without conformity to such elders and bishops! This partial project and selfish design divers of us were concerned in conscience to oppose, argue, and testify against, to certain members of Parliament concerned for such a comprehension, and others also.

I remember I discoursed with divers of them about it, showing them wherein they gave away the cause of all the most honest and conscientious dissenters, and thereby greatly lost ground, &c.

It was well that project of such a comprehension did not take effect, there was doubtless a Divine Hand and Providence in its prevention. And would it not have gone hard and sore against the grain, with the high Episcopal clergy, if Presbyterian ministers, &c. had partaken with them, and been made sharers in their parish churches and livings, tithes and glebe lands, oblations and obventions, profits and revenues, wherein they were formerly paramount, and chiefly if not wholly invested for the space of twelve years or above, until the year 1660, and that the act of uniformity came to be in force; and then Presbytery must give way to Episcopacy, and lay down church revenues or else conform; whereupon many great Presbyterian ministers did conform with such pretences as these—they must not lay aside preaching the Gospel, for want of conforming or dispensing with a few ceremonies, which are but things indifferent and inconsiderable: their great livings, tithes, oblations, and profits, were to them far more considerable.

In the mean while, their solemn league and covenant against Episcopacy, &c. was not well considered or thought on by such occasional conformists; yet some of them who were of the more zealous presbytery, having been noted for their zeal in respect to their solemn league and covenant against prelacy or episcopacy, and pretending some greater reformation, deserted those counties and places where they had been so noted for their zeal and reformation, &c. and removed into other

counties and places, some southward and some north, where they were not so known, and could more easily conform for a church living, and there put on the surplice, sign infants with the sign of the cross, bow to the high altar, conform to all the ceremonies of their church, and plead decency and good order in them all; which before were but superstitious relics of popery, and altogether indecent in God's worship.

Yet to do the party right; some ministers and people were more conscientious than to allow of such an occasional conformity for lucre's sake; and indeed many could not obtain parish church livings if they would, where there remained some old Episcopal clergymen who had claim to the livings, having been formerly turned out of the same; so that those who could not conform on such occasions, nor obtain parish maintenance, were fain to keep private meetings, termed conventicles, as long as they could or durst; for few of them would suffer for their religion, but rather privily slide away or flee out at back doors, rather than be seized or taken by the persecutors; though many of the Baptists suffered imprisonment at first. But the heat of the day, the burden of suffering and persecution, chiefly arose and fell upon us the poor Quakers; for when we were not suffered to meet quietly in our public meeting-houses, but many of us were violently haled out to prison, and the rest by force turned out and kept in the street; there have we stood and kept our meetings without doors, both when turned out and when officers were set on purpose to keep us wholly out in the streets; where we have often met and stood, both in winter and summer and all weathers, as near our own meeting-houses as we could get, and there waited upon the Lord our God, in testimony against our injurious, hard-hearted persecutors; insomuch that some of the other dissenters, who durst not meet publicly, have thanked God that He had enabled the Quakers to stand in the gap, and bear the brunt, and keep the blow off them.

The king being prevailed upon in a short time, I think about two years, to cancel or vacate his aforesaid indulgence to tender consciences; some persecutors began to appear again, and a new persecution arose in divers places, where they picked up Friends who bore public testimony to Truth; and yet for some time after, we could travel quietly and visit our meetings in many counties. But the old and chief snare which our great persecutors were ready to make use of against us, was the oath of allegiance, knowing that we could not swear in any case, either for the king or for ourselves; though we sincerely practised and performed just allegiance toward him, as true and faithful subjects, giving Cæsar his due and to God his due, the things that are truly His; namely, his worship and service according to our conscientious persuasion in matters of faith and religion; rather laying down our bodies as the street to be trod upon, than subjecting our souls for our persecutors to go over them; and when they could not go over our souls, nor make them yield and bow to their corrupt wills and impositions, then would they hunt us out, to apprehend and confine our bodies in prisons and jails.

In the 10th month, 1673, our dear Friends and brethren, George Fox and Thomas Lower were apprehended; being at a Friend's house in Worcestershire, and on their journey towards their habitations in Lancashire, but were obstructed and committed to prison at Worcester, by warrant from one Henry Parker, justice of peace, and detained prisoners a considerable time. The injustice and illegality done against them, is farther related and detected in George Fox's journal.

After George Fox had long remained prisoner at Worcester, Thomas Moor and I went to the king at Hampton court, and requested his liberty out of prison. Though the king gave us little answer, yet after some time the Lord made way for George Fox's release.

This imprisonment I have mentioned, that it may appear how early the invidious persecutors fell to work,

after the king's declaration as aforesaid. The persecutors being let loose again, the several ways of persecution were renewed against us, the people called Quakers; as, for not swearing allegiance, the penalty was imprisonment and premunire; for not going to parish church, so called, twenty pounds a month, or two thirds of a person's estate, forfeited and seized on exchequer process, or excommunication, and writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, issued out to take and imprison the persons excommunicated. And for our innocent religious meetings, great spoil was made upon our goods; they being taken and torn away by a company of loose, idle informers, who cared not what havoc and spoil they made upon us, nor how much they ruined honest, industrious families; besides the many hard and tedious imprisonments which many of us underwent, both before and after the before-mentioned declaration of indulgence.

Because of these our sufferings on divers sorts of prosecutions and processes before hinted, application was often made to the king, and sometimes to the judges before they went their several circuits, for some redress and relief from those hardships and severe sufferings; and great endeavours were used at least, to make the king and his ministers sensible thereof, according to the following brief accounts and intimations, viz.

"To the King's Justices, appointed for the several circuits throughout England.

"Many of our Friends, called Quakers, being continued prisoners, and many prosecuted to great spoil by informers, and on qui-tam writs, and by presentments and indictments for twenty pounds per mensem, in divers counties throughout England, only on the account of religion and tender conscience toward Almighty God; we esteem it our Christian duty to remind you of their suffering condition, as we have done from time to time.

"Humbly entreating you, in the circuits to enquire

into the several causes of their commitments, and other sufferings which they lie under, and to extend what favour you can to them for their ease and relief. Praying the Almighty to direct and preserve you; we are,

"Your Christian friends and well-wishers."

But we found little redress from the judges in those days, after divers applications to them; except when the king gave them some instructions thereunto; for which end we sometimes applied to the king to stay proceedings against our Friends: whereupon he showed some compassion towards the sufferers. Their case was presented to him in manner following.

To the King.

"The case of the people called Quakers, who are still sufferers by prosecutions upon old statutes made against Popish recusants."

Presented to the king by George Whitehead, William Mead, and John Osgood, the 16th of the 11th month, 1679. Being introduced by William Chiffins, Esq. closet keeper to the king, as he had given leave and appointed.

After a brief introductory speech to the king, by George Whitehead, the following case was presented and read, viz.

"It may be remembered, that about two years last past, our case of sufferings was represented before the king and his privy council, that is, the late and unwonted prosecutions upon the statutes of the 23rd and 28th of Queen Elizabeth, made against Popish Recusants; by colour whereof, and of the statute of the 3rd of king James, two-thirds of our lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases, and farms, for two or three years then last past, were seized into the king's hands; and process made out of his exchequer twice yearly, to collect

the rents and profits thereof, for which the bailiffs seldom take less than double; their distresses frequently amounting to more than the yearly value of the whole estates. The king was then pleased to express his sense of the unreasonableness of such persecution, saying, 'It was hard we should suffer by laws made against us, and also by those laws never made or designed against us.' But the Parliament being then sitting, the king referred us to them, as the more proper place for an effectual redress.

"In obedience whereunto we made our application to the House of Commons, who, by a committee, then examined, by witnesses and records, the justness and reasonableness of our complaints, and had true resentments thereof; but before they could yield us any relief, they were prorogued and soon after dissolved.

"We also represented our case to the succeeding Parliament, who for our relief were pleased to insert a clause in a bill then before them, to distinguish betwixt Papists and Protestants, which would have tended to redress our grievance. But the king also proroguing that Parliament before the said bill had past its last customary reading in the upper house, we are still left under the said heavy pressures.

"Now although the most effectual redress of these present and future prosecutions, as the king has directed, would be by act of parliament; yet it being so, that the king has power by law to grant a stay or cessation of processes, which are made out to collect the fines, and profits levied upon our estates, that is, the forfeitures being made to the king:

"We therefore, in true Christian humility, desire, that the king will be pleased to grant a present stay or cessation of process; until we can have a more effectual redress in a parliamentary way."

The king received this case with a list of the sufferers, that is, of our Friends under prosecution; and he was pleased to give this answer, viz. "That it is very

unreasonable you should thus suffer by laws that were never intended against you; I am against persecution or persecuting any for conscience, and I shall consider of your case and afford you what relief I can; I will advise with my lord chancellor and attorney general about it, what way I may do it," &c. That is, what we requested, that he would please to give order to put a stop to process against us in the exchequer, &c.

The king farther told us; "that it should be moved the next council day; he would remember it, and Shephard should give us notice." He being a noted sort of a witty person and courtier, who much attended the king and was intimate with him.

We were sensible that the king at that time, as I have known him at several others, was touched in his conscience, and somewhat tenderly affected with the extremity and long continuance of those great sufferings upon our Friends in this and other cases; but some persons near him were not our friends and had too much influence upon him, whereby his good inclinations against persecution, and for liberty of conscience, as well as his promises for the same, were many times frustrated; and our suffering heavy pressures and troubles by persecutions, were in great measure continued under his reign till his days were ended.

And though our solicitations did not at all times take the effect desired, yet I had this secret encouragement to move betimes in a good cause, and to pursue the same so far as I could, believing that if it was for some time delayed or rejected, it would in the Lord's time take effect: and if at any time we did not receive present gain, that we should not lose by early moving in and following a just cause. For many times when we have laboured under severe persecutions and confinements, &c. we have often called for justice when we could not have it; yet thereby we have cleared our consciences and had the more inward peace, believing that the just God would appear for us if men would not hear us. And our God has often manifestly pleaded

our cause, and vindicated our innocency in divers respects; both in men's consciences and in removing our implacable persecutors, when they have filled up their measures.

George Whitehead did not escape a share in the renewed sufferings of the Society, which arose from the cancelling of the king's order. In the year 1680 he visited the city of Norwich; and meeting there unexpectedly with his friend Thomas Burr, a fellow minister, they thought it right to attend the meeting of their Friends on the first day of the week, although they understood it was not unlikely to be disturbed.

The meeting in the morning was held peaceably; but in the afternoon, whilst George Whitehead was preaching to the people, a number of informers rushed into the meeting; making a great noise, and endeavouring to push their way to George Whitehead to pull him down.

The people however it seems did not allow them to pass; and George Whitehead desired to know whether they had any legal authority for their proceedings. They refused to give him any satisfaction on this point; but insinuated that he might be a Jesuit, and demanded the names of the strangers. With this demand George Whitehead immediately complied, for the satisfaction of the people; and after disturbing the meeting as much as they could, the informers thought proper to retire. Soon, however, one of the sheriffs of the city made his appearance; and the people making way for him, he required the two Friends to follow him; and accompanied by the informers, conducted the unresisting prisoners to gaol.

In about two hours they were summoned to appear before the recorder; and on being brought into his room, they found the priest of the parish along with him, who during the examination evinced no friendly spirit towards them. The recorder apparently suspecting them of being popish emissaries, questioned them closely as

to whether they had orders from Rome; to which they gave a plain denial, declaring in the most solemn manner their abhorrence of popery.

He then questioned them about their preaching that day at the meeting, threatening to fine them twenty pounds each, under the Conventicle Act. Finding that they would not deposit these sums, or give security for their appearance at the ensuing sessions, or take the oath of allegiance, he committed them to prison.

From hence George Whitehead and Thomas Burr wrote a respectful letter to the magistrates of the city, before whom they were to be brought, entreating their moderation and that they would not allow them to be deprived of a full and fair hearing. A very minute account of their trial, collected and compared at the sessions by several hands, is preserved in George Whitehead's narrative; from which the following is abstracted.

At the quarter sessions for the city and county of Norwich, the 28th day of April, so called, 1680.

The prisoners were brought to the bar.

Their hats ordered to be taken off.

George Whitehead standing up to the bar, began thus, viz.

"The law of England requires two things of the court, with respect to the prisoners, viz.

"First the patience of the court; and secondly, the indifferency of the court towards the prisoners.

"That their case may be patiently heard and considered, without prejudication, before any judgment pass against them. We have been five weeks in prison; it is meet the court should know for what. Pray let our mittimus be produced and read in court, that it may be understood what charge we suffer under."

Recorder. "There is no need of your mittimus to be read here; I will give account of the cause; I will inform the court. These persons had been two months from home, and had been up and down the country in

Suffolk, at a burial, &c. And then they came hither, and here they gathered a company together of about two hundred, and the officers went from me to dissipate them, but could not; whereupon I sent the sheriff, and he took them away and put them in prison. And then they were brought before me; and after conviction made, I proffered them that if they would pay their fines, I would not commit them to prison; but when they would not, I tendered the oath of allegiance to them; and after they would not take it, I sent them to gaol; as I think I very well might."

George Whitehead. "We are Englishmen, and have a right to travel in any part of the nation," &c.

Recorder. "There is a law, and the Church of England will never be at quiet till some of you be hanged by that law," (or till such fellows as you are hanged.)

George Whitehead. "The court may see the frame of the recorder's spirit towards us, and that he stands not as a person indifferent but a party against us. Thou oughtest not to inveigh against the prisoners, nor threaten us; that stands not with the indifferency of the court; nor yet thy determining or resolving aforehand against us, as thou hast done. Judges ought not to declare their opinions aforehand against the prisoner; Hussey, the chief justice, would not do it to the king, in the case of Humphrey Stafford the arch-traitor, but begged of the king he would not desire him to declare his opinion aforehand, that the prisoner might come judicially before him and have justice done him. And the king accepted his request in the case."—Interrupted. See Cook's Inst *part* 3, *fol.* 29.

Recorder. "What king's reign was that in?"

George Whitehead. "In king Henry the seventh's."

Recorder. "I perceive you have read," (or are read.)

George Whitehead. "Seeing that none of the court have as yet had any hand against us, except the recorder, we may charitably hope that the court will stand indifferent toward us, and let us have a fair hearing before any determination. The laws of our nation re-

quire a due course of proceeding, before men be sentenced or condemned; so there ought to be a due hearing: as where a process or proceeding consists of several parts, each part ought to be enquired into and answered in due order, without confounding one thing with another, or putting that first which in course is last. Let us have a fair hearing and trial: let us be tried before we be hanged."

Recorder. "You were sent to prison for refusing the oath of allegiance."

George Whitehead. "That is a mistake; we were sent to prison for being at a meeting charged to be against the peace; which is the premises in our mittimus to which we are here to answer. And therefore, that all may know what is laid to our charge, we desire our mittimus may be read, that so, if there be any persons that will undertake to prove the matter in charge, let us see them and have liberty to answer the premises contained in the mittimus."

Recorder. "I will show you, that when a person is committed to prison, he may have several actions laid upon him, if new charges be brought against him," &c.

Prisoner. "I grant that; but that is not our case; for we presume the recorder had no new matter brought against us, after he committed us to prison; and therefore could not lay any new charge upon us."

The recorder continued to refuse the reading of the mittimus upon which they were committed, and after some further altercation said: "Put the oath to them that is in the second mittimus."

George Whitehead. "I beg of this court for God's sake and the king's sake, to be heard fairly without thus being run upon: for God's sake, because he is a God of justice and truth; and for the king's sake, because the king's will towards us as subjects, is what the law and justice wills. As his will is the will of the law, he wills that none of his subjects be injured or unduly prosecuted contrary to law. I appeal to the mayor as chief magistrate of this city, and the rest of the

justices here present, whether ye ought not to see us have that right done us, as to have our mittimus produced and read in court, that you may understand the cause of our commitment, we were not committed for refusing the oath. We intreat that the court may hear our mittimus, that we may not have other premises put upon us than what is contained therein."

Recorder. "It shall not be read; there is no need of that: I am present that committed you."

George Whitehead. "I appeal to the mayor and the rest of the justices, who are more indifferent towards us, for justice in this case, viz. that we may have our mittimus read and answer to the premises contained in it; and not thus be run upon and diverted with that which is none of the premises," &c.

Mayor. "You have appealed to me; truly we are tradesmen and no lawyers: we leave matters of law to the recorder; he knows the law and we must acquiesce in his judgment."

Thomas Burr. "Thou understandest we ought to have our mittimus read and be heard; and thou art the chief magistrate in this court," &c.

George Whitehead. "You all have a conscience towards God, and an equal and just law therein; and you are under a severe obligation, to wit, your oath, to see justice and right done us. We appeal to the mayor and justices here for justice, in relation to our mittimus, that it may not be thus evaded. We are at this sessions to answer to the premises or matter of charge therein contained; you are concerned in conscience to do us right herein. The honour of this court is also concerned, not to see us precipitated nor run down upon other premises. The mittimus was given under the hand and seal of your recorder, his reputation and honour are also concerned," &c.

Recorder. "My honour concerned! wherein?"

George Whitehead. "Thy reputation and honour are concerned, in that thou art bound to stand by our mit-

timus; it is under thy hand and seal: now thou goest about to evade it, by imposing other premises upon us."

Recorder. "They sent their mittimus to the attorney general, and solicited him for advice, to know whether they were according to law or not. And moved for a *habeas corpus;* but it would not be granted."

George Whitehead. "We neither sent to the attorney-general, nor have we yet moved for a *habeas corpus.*"

Recorder. "The second mittimus or warrant is about their refusing the oath of allegiance; as for the first, I did not make it by book."

George Whitehead. "It is not a reasonable thing to bring a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him: it was contrary to the very laws of the Romans.—" Interrupted.

Recorder. "What tell you us of the law of the Romans; we have laws of our own to act by," &c.

George Whitehead. "It is according to the law of reason and nations, that the crimes and offences should be known, for which prisoners are committed and detained in prison; else why should they suffer?"

Recorder. "The court must tender you the oath."

George Whitehead. "Wherefore then were we committed and detained in prison above these five weeks? If we be offenders, let us know our offence for which we were committed; if not, do not go about to ensnare us; do not seek occasion against us. It is enough to punish us, if found guilty of what is charged against us in our mittimus. We entreat the mayor and court to do us right in this matter, that our mittimus may be read."

Mayor and some others. "Well, you shall have it read."

George Whitehead. "Keeper, where is our mittimus; produce it that it may be read, as the mayor and other justices here present have engaged."

Recorder. "Tender them the oath; put the oath to them. If you will take it, that shall serve, &c. If not, you incur a premunire," &c.

The clerk begins to read the oath.

George Whitehead. "The oath is none of the premises contained in our mittimus, which we are to answer to at this sessions, and to be tried upon."

Thomas Burr. "Our all is at stake; we perceive the recorder is determined concerning us: we must have liberty to speak; we are freeborn Englishmen."

Recorder. "We have power here to tender you the oath, without taking notice of any other cause."

George Whitehead. "It is preposterous to run us upon the oath in the first place, we being not committed for that, but for other causes."

Recorder. "You affront the court: is that a fit word to give the court, to charge the court with preposterous proceedings."

George Whitehead. "I do not charge the court; I do distinguish between the recorder, in this point, and the court. He seeks to run us upon that first, which in course is last, according to his own mittimus and warrant; and is not that preposterous? Let our mittimus be read, and that will show we were not committed upon the oath.

"We ought to have due process or proceeding in due course of law: therefore the court should know how we were first arrested and turned into gaol by the sheriff, without examination, mittimus or warrant; and how afterward had out and committed; and what the mittimus is; what are the premises contained in it, that we are to answer unto.

"The law of England is tender of men's liberties, properties, estates, and lives, all which are concerned in our imprisonment; *lex angliæ* is said to be *lex misericordiæ*, that is, the law of England is a law of mercy; one reason whereof is, that the innocent may not be worn or wasted through long imprisonment, but be brought forth speedily to his trial, according to magna charta," &c.

Recorder. "Look what an argument or consequence you would draw from hence, the law of England is a law of mercy; it is *lex misericordiæ*, therefore thieves

or malefactors, &c. must not be brought to condign punishment," &c.

George Whitehead. "This is none of my consequence; mine is the same that Judge Coke doth instance, wherein the law of England is *lex misericordiæ*, in that it is tender of men's liberties and prescribes a due course of procedure." Interrupted.

"Magna charta enjoins, that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, &c. but by the law of the land. The law of England requires due process from the very first arrest, taking, and imprisoning, to the very end and execution of the same. Therefore the first arrest, imprisoning, and committing us, ought to be known and understood, whether it was in due manner and course of law, yea or nay."

The recorder was much offended at the prisoner, for urging so strongly the reading of their mittimus, and with the justices for acquiescing in their desire.

At length, on George Whitehead still urging the production of this document, the recorder said to him: "No doubt you have a copy;" on which George Whitehead said he had, and craved the liberty of the court to read it. The justices having queried one of another, and being generally of the mind that it ought to be read, the mayor informed the recorder, that the justices were agreed it should be read, which was accordingly done. *It stated, that the prisoners had assembled together with several other persons, in disturbance of the public peace and against the laws of the realm; and being required to find sureties for their respective appearance at the next quarter sessions, which they refused, the keeper of the common gaol was required to receive them, and keep them until they should be discharged by due order of law.*

George Whitehead urging the charge contained in the mittimus, viz. that of being at a meeting in disturbance of the public peace—the recorder insisted on what he called the other mittimus, being read also. George Whitehead pressed the court to try them, in the first

instance at least, on their original mittimus, and stated, that they had exceptions against the second warrant which ought to be read if the warrant were. The court agreed that both should be read.

Recorder. "Have you any thing against the oath of allegiance? Or do you except against any thing contained in it."

George Whitehead. "We have nothing to except against the declaration of allegiance contained in it, as to the substance thereof."

Thomas Burr. "We show our allegiance by our conversations, that is, by our living peaceably under the king and government."

Recorder. "Do you scruple any word or thing contained in the oath? If you do, tell us what it is."

George Whitehead. "We both own and can sign the declaration of allegiance, in opposition to the pope and popery; and to those seditious or treasonable practices and positions abjured and renounced by that oath."

Recorder. "Do you hold it unlawful to take an oath in any case?"

George Whitehead. "We are not committed to prison to answer to questions at sessions; but to answer to the premises contained in our mittimus."

Recorder. "Do you not hold it lawful to tell a lie, that is an *officious* lie? to prevent an imminent danger," &c.

George Whitehead. "No, by no means; that is not a true protestant principle, to tell or maintain an *officious* lie, so called."

Recorder. "Will you take the oath? &c. If you will, hold up your hand as a testimony that you do take the oath or swear, that shall serve," &c.

George Whitehead. "We have a protestation or declaration against the pope and popery, which was delivered to the committee of parliament, and thereby judged sufficient to distinguish us from popish recusants: we crave leave of the court to read it."

Recorder. "What difference is there between a protestation and an oath?"

George Whitehead. "It may be a protestation or testimony against popery, yet not an oath. I pray you let us read our protestation, that we may not lie under suspicion without cause."

Court. "You may. Read it."

The protestation read in court, which followeth.

"A protestation or declaration, to distinguish Protestant dissenters from Popish recusants.

"I, A. B. do, in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly profess, and in good conscience declare, it is my real judgment that the Church of Rome is not the real Church of Christ; nor the pope or bishop of Rome, Christ's vicar: and his or their doctrines, of deposing heretical princes and of absolving their subjects of their obedience; of purgatory and prayers for the dead; of indulgences and worshipping of images; of adoring and praying to the Virgin Mary and other saints, deceased; and of transubstantiation, or changing the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; are false, erroneous, and contrary to the Truth of God declared in the Holy Scriptures: and therefore, that the communion of the said Church is superstitious and idolatrous.

"And I do likewise sincerely testify and declare, that I do from the bottom of my heart, detest and abhor all plots and conspiracies that are, or may be contrived against the king, or parliament, or people, of this realm, or the true Protestant religion therein professed. And I do hereby faithfully promise, by God's help, to live a peaceable and sober life, as becometh a good Christian and protestant to do.

"And all this I do acknowledge, intend, declare, and subscribe, without any equivocation or mental reservation; according to the true plainness, simplicity, and usual significations of the words.

"Witness my hand."

George Whitehead. "This was accepted by a great committee and entered in the journal of parliament, in order to distinguish us from popish recusants," &c.

Recorder. "We have not a law to accept it: it is not enacted or made a law. We must proceed according to law, &c. You seem to declare for the true Protestant religion, &c. when you dissent from the Church of England; I am not in that point satisfied with your declaration."

George Whitehead. "We have no mental reservations in the case. We are willing and ready to sign this declaration. Is there any evidence against us, to prove the premises contained in our mittimus? Where are our accusers?"

Recorder, "The premises: what are they?"

George Whitehead. "The being at an unlawful assembly in disturbance of the public peace, as is pretended against us; let us be tried, and either condemned or acquitted hereupon."

Recorder. "I was more favourable to you than you deserved; for I could have drawn an indictment against you at common law, and brought you to a trial upon it; which being found against you I must have fined you.

"We who are in commission for the peace, are *lex loquens*, and to give the true meaning of the law. We are not to make laws, but to interpret the law. We are to punish or amerce offenders, secundum qualitatem and secundum quantitatum delicti," &c.

George Whitehead. "We are not at present about to justify ourselves as to matter of fact; we are willing to hear evidence what any can prove against us, in relation to our assemblies. Let us have due process."

Recorder. "If the court will agree to it, we will adjourn. And I will provide an indictment, and give order that the witnesses shall be here, and will give it to the grand inquest; and if they find it against you,

you shall be fined forty pounds, and imprisonment till paid," &c.

Prisoner. "It seems the witnesses are yet to procure. Is there any here that can give evidence against our meeting, of the breach of the peace," &c.

Recorder. "That is a lie; I did not say I would procure witnesses: that is scandalous."

Thomas Burr. "We desire that no advantage may be taken against us for a word. You ought not to take advantage," &c.

George Whitehead. "I intended no offence in the word *procure;* I intended it not in the worst sense, that is, as by way of subornation; for I intended no other than according to the recorder's own words, that witnesses should be here, or the like, which doubtless many present heard."

Recorder. "You shall have the oath put to you, and I will tell you what danger you incur: if you refuse to take it, you are to be put out of the king's protection, your lands and estates forfeit to the king, and your bodies imprisoned during the king's pleasure," &c.

George Whitehead. "We understand what a premunire means, according to the statute of premunire, made in the sixteenth year of king Richard the Second; though there is no equity that should be brought upon us, whilst we practise our allegiance. Suppose we cannot for conscience' sake swear, it is but hard measure to bring us under the penalty of premunire for that cause only. What equity can there be in it? seeing we utterly deny the pope and popery, &c.; to which we may justly add, and abhor those treasonable practices and positions, which are abjured by that oath. Can it be equal or just to run us to a premunire, to forfeit our estates, liberties, &c. only for want of swearing? How can that be either secundum qualitatum, or secundum quantitatum delicti?"

Recorder. "You talk of conscience. Friend, friend, let me ask you one question: pray what is conscience?"

George Whitehead. "It is that knowledge that God

hath placed in man; it is a knowing together between God and our own souls, by virtue of the law of God in man; whereby he knows what is good and what is evil, and whereby he is taught to embrace the good and shun the evil. It is called, the law of truth, the law of equity, the law of reason, &c. against which law, says the law book 'Doctor and Student,' no law nor custom ought to be brought, but is void."

Recorder. "Although I asked you a question, I did not bid you preach upon it. But conscience may be seared; as when men will not be reclaimed, but have their own wills be they never so contrary."

George Whitehead. "It is true; some men's consciences become hardened and seared through sinning, and for want of being exercised by that law of God in them. Yet there is a universal law of truth in mankind, whereby even the wicked and those of seared and hardened consciences, shall finally be convicted and awakened in torment," &c.

Recorder. "You must have the oath put to you; the court must tender you the oath of allegiance; will you take it?"

George Whitehead. "We lie under a charge in our mittimus; let us be discharged of that first: that contains the premises which we are to answer to; let us not be hood-winked. Are we discharged of the two warrants that are against us, yea or no? The rest of the court ought to know, that one thing may not confound another."

Recorder. "You talk law as you talk Gospel; here you talk a little, and there you talk a little. It is pity you have the benefit of the law; you put yourselves from the protection of the law."

George Whitehead. "The recorder is a party against us; he is our accuser, prosecutor, and judge. He inveighs against us; he is determined against us; he has told his resolution aforehand," &c.

One justice. "You offer contempt against the king

in what you say against his minister; the recorder is his minister."

George Whitehead. "No such matter; I only oppose an undue and irregular procedure, which is not the king's will," &c.

Recorder. "Your words tend to stir up the people here to sedition."

George Whitehead. "We have no such design; we only plead our own rights as Englishmen: the losers must have leave to speak; our liberties, and estates, and families are concerned; our wives and families suffer by our restraint," &c.

Recorder. "Clerk, tender him the oath; offer him the book."

Clerk reads: "I George Whitehead do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience," &c.

George Whitehead. "Forbear; we have matter of plea which ought to be heard first," &c.

Note. Here a great noise was made by some present.

Crier. "O yes! silence in the court," &c.

George Whitehead. "We beg of the court that we may not be thus run upon, but duly heard upon the process we suffer under."

Recorder. "Will you take the oath? answer and then you shall know the pleasure of the court."

George Whitehead. "We ought to be at some certainty, whether we are discharged of the premises laid against us in the two warrants. The recorder was even now for indicting us at common law: now he is all in haste to put the oath upon us. Thus he appears inconsistent with himself: he is not now *lex loquens* to be sure; for the law speaking doth not contradict itself. He is not the mouth of the law, in running thus unduly and abruptly upon us with the oath, to evade the premises which we were to answer to. Are we discharged of the two warrants, yea or no? let us have the plain advice or sense of the court."

Recorder. "It may be you may suppose you be discharged; what is the consequence you will infer thence."

George Whitehead. "We desire a plain answer; we are not to be answered by supposition, nor thence to draw consequences now: we are not called hither to dispute upon a hypothetical argument; we expect a positive plain answer, and the sense of the court concerning our mittimus and warrant: are we discharged of them or not?"

Some of the court to the recorder: "Let them be discharged of them."

Some of the court: "You are discharged of them."

George Whitehead. "Does the recorder say so? Does he assent to it? Let proclamation be made of it then, that we may be set at liberty in the same capacity we were in before we were first arrested."

Recorder. "No, no; seeing you will take your way I will take my way; you shall have the oath first and then your discharge. Will you take the oath, and then you shall be discharged? What say you to it? Read the oath," &c.

Thomas Burr. "It is a force put upon us; it is very hard dealing we may not be duly heard," &c.

George Whitehead. "Are the rest of the justices of the same mind, that we should be thus run upon? We hope you are not all of the same mind with the recorder in this proceeding. He is engaged against us; he is resolved to make something of it, and to make us exemplary in suffering."

Recorder. "Stop his mouth; take him away. They had not only need to have their hats pulled off, but their mouths stopt also."

George Whitehead. "Pray hear us; we have more to offer as about this tender of the oath, to show how undue it is, if you will but suffer the law to be read which we desire. But we ought first to have had proclamation made of our discharge from the two warrants."

Recorder. "If we should make proclamation and let you go, we should be laughed at: no, no; I see you lay upon the catch, we will not discharge you. Now we have you here we shall not let you go, for to send a warrant after you to fetch you again. Will you take the oath or not?"

George Whitehead. "Is this intended for a first tender or second? We desire an answer."

Recorder. "We will tender it you *de novo;* it shall be for a first tender; and if you will not take it, you shall be committed till next sessions," &c.

Clerk reads the oath.

Clerk. "I, Thomas Burr, do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience," &c.

George Whitehead. "We appeal to the mayor and the rest of the justices. The recorder is a party against us; he has determined against us beforehand: I will prove that he is no competent judge in our case, if I may be heard."—Interruption.—"Are we discharged of the two warrants? Pray let us have fair and plain dealing; do not thus force upon us; it is unfair and undue proceeding. Let us be discharged of the two warrants first, before we be put upon an answer: we ought not to be put to our answer, but upon due process," &c.

Some of the court. "You are discharged from those two mittimusses. Clerk, read their discharge." The clerk reads what the recorder had caused him to enter into the book to this purpose.

Clerk. "George Whitehead and Thomas Burr are discharged of the matter contained in their two mittimusses. And the oath of allegiance, and the Testament to swear in open court, at this present sessions, was severally tendered to them; and the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, having severally refused to take the said oath of allegiance, it is therefore ordered, that the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr be committed to the common gaol of the said city, there

to remain without bail or mainprize until the next quarter sessions," &c.

George Whitehead. "The latter part is not true; we have not yet refused the oath; we were not duly nor regularly brought upon that point as to give a positive answer, because of the other precedent charges which we were to answer to. We have yet matter of plea about the tender of the oath, *de novo*, in court. We request further time to be heard upon an adjournment, before we give our positive answer. We desire to know upon what law or statute it is tendered?" No answer was given to this question.

Recorder. "You have stronger lungs than I; I understand you had a feast last night, &c. Adjourn the court; take them away gaoler."

George Whitehead. "Pray let us have more time to consider and speak to this point. I intreat that I may have leave to read the clause in the statute, that concerns the tender of the oath."

These endeavours of the prisoners to be heard, after the pretended order was entered, was, because the prisoners did not believe that the justices, or greater number of them, did concur with the recorder's proceeding against them; but that they had more both of moderation and justice in them, and that he carried things on too much over their heads; and all to run down and ensnare the prisoners, to oppress them and continue them under suffering.

Officers. "The court adjourned."

George Whitehead held by the bar, pressing to be further heard after the adjournment, when the court met again, and for the statute to be read about the oath; neither whereof would be granted the prisoners, but two of the keepers pulled the prisoners away.

Prisoner. "Take notice that we have not yet refused the oath, being not duly nor regularly brought upon that point; but we have owned the declaration of allegiance contained in it, and do still freely assent to

it, in opposition to and abhorrence of all those treasonable practices, positions, and principles abjured and renounced by that oath; though we are conscientiously afraid to swear it, only with respect to Christ's prohibition in the case of swearing."

SECTION XIV.

George Whitehead and Thomas Burr re-conveyed to prison—released at the next quarter sessions.—Distinction between the refusal of Friends to take the oath and that of the Papists.—Change in the sentiments of parliament respecting the persecution of dissenting protestants.—Bills for the relief of dissenters.—Character of informers.—Petition to the king.—A discourse with him.—G. Whitehead labours in the ministry and shares in the sufferings of his Friends.

After this manly and Christian defence of their civil and religious rights, being re-conveyed to prison, George Whitehead and his companions addressed a letter to the mayor and aldermen of the city, acknowledging the impartiality and moderation with which they had been treated on their trial; but at the same time respectfully urging the illegality of the proceeding, in the tendering of the oath to them, *de novo;* and requesting a hearing in their council chamber, or to be brought before the adjournment of the court. Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the magistrates, and that the recorder, five days after their trial, had been voted out of place by the common council, their discharge was not effected until the time of the next regular sessions; when no charge being exhibited against them, they were ordered to be released.

The earl of Yarmouth and several other persons of eminence interfered in their favour; from which, as well as from the conduct of the magistrates, it may be inferred, that some change in public opinion, probably both as regarded the character of the Quakers and the nature of persecution, had taken place.

It must also be admitted, that some change had taken place in the manner of George Whitehead's treating those who differed from him; and that, without any diminution of the sincerity and piety which marked the

early period of his life, there was an evident increase of that conciliatory spirit, which is the usual accompaniment of mature wisdom. He has left very copious remarks on the proceedings in this case;* and whilst they have lost much of their interest, by the happy change in the laws, as well as, we trust, in the disposition of the people respecting persecution, the following passages, in which he draws the distinction between the case of the Papists and the Quakers in regard to the refusal of the oath of allegiance, may be worthy of insertion; as showing the views taken by the Society, in relation to the political duties of its members.

Our case, says he, vastly differs from theirs for whom the oath was intended; there is no parity between our case and theirs. We conscientiously scruple or fear to take that oath, as we do all oaths, viz because it is an oath; not because of the declaration therein contained, of such duty and allegiance as every true and well-affected subject ought to bear to the king; nor yet because of the testimony or declaration therein against the pope, his pretended power, excommunications, absolutions, damnable positions, &c. therein mentioned; for that declaration and testimony therein contained, for fidelity to the king and against the pope, &c. we can freely sign, as we have delivered a declaration to that purpose to the late long parliament, and in some points containing a more full protestation against popery, in the most erroneous, idolatrous, and superstitious doctrines thereof: which declaration was accepted by a large committee of parliament, as sufficient to distinguish us from Papists, and entered into the journal of the house of commons. And therefore the substance of the declaration of allegiance, contained in the oath

* George Whitehead published at the time a very particular account of the trial, under the title of "Due order of Law and Justice, pleaded against irregular and arbitrary Proceedings. Published for information and caution, on the behalf of true Protestants and Englishmen's birthrights." *Editor.*

of allegiance, we cannot oppugn, but own, as it is or may be transferred or intended on behalf of the present king, in opposition to those treasonable practices and principles thereby renounced and abjured; as being persuaded in conscience, that he was eminently preserved and restored by the hand of Divine Providence, to have actual power and dominion in this realm and all other his countries, knowing that the Most High rules over the kingdoms of men and that they are at his disposal.

And we also believe, that in good conscience we are bound to demean ourselves honestly, and to live as peaceable minded Christians and true protestant subjects under the king and his government, giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's. And then our solemn and serious protestation is against the pope as antichristian, and against those popish principles, wicked positions and practices, viz.

Of deposing or murdering kings and princes excommunicated by the pope.

Of disposing of their kingdoms, dominions, and countries.

Of authorizing foreign princes to invade and annoy them.

Of absolving subjects from their allegiance and obedience.

Of licensing any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or offer violence or hurt to their lawful kings, princes, governments, or subjects.

Of treasons, traitorous conspiracies, and hellish plots against king, government, parliament, or people.

Of that damnable position, that princes that be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may be deposed by their subjects or any other.

All which destructive principles and abominable practices, together with that antichristian spirit from whence they proceed, we do in good conscience and in the sight and presence of God who knows our hearts, utterly

abhor, protest, and testify against; and therefore do neither refuse nor scruple the said oath in favour to these or any such principles.

What is now wanting that we must be run to premunire, to lose our estates and liberties? Is a peaceable conversation wanting on our parts? No. Is the duty of allegiance towards our king wanting? No. Are we infected with popish, treacherous, treasonable, or destructive principles against our king, or his government or people? No; God knows the innocency of our hearts and intentions, and men know our peaceable conversations. What then is the matter, that we must be so severely dealt withal, to the uttermost rigour of the law, to be deprived of all outward liberties, properties, estates, livelihoods, and all our outward comforts in this world? Are we guilty of any such essential offence or capital crime, in our not coming under the circumstance of an oath, as may justly and naturally merit such severity? No, surely. The case is brought to a near point, and reduced to a very narrow compass.

An innocent, honest, quiet, and well meaning man, both towards the king, his government, and people; he is truly principled in his duty; he is real and honest in his heart towards his protestant prince; he is a real protestant against the pope and all popish antichristian positions and destructive practices; he not only performs his duty of allegiance in his peaceable conversation, but also declares it in the sight of God and men, and is willing to sign and subscribe such declaration of his duty of allegiance, if he may not otherwise be believed; only he conscientiously scruples to say, I swear, and to kiss the book, to make his declaration an oath; for want only of which circumstance and ceremony, this poor innocent man and sincere protestant must be run to a premunire, his liberty lost, and the little estate or substance he has must be forfeited and all taken from him; his poor wife and small children left desolate, wholly impoverished and want bread; his

wife must go mourning and wringing her hands, and shedding of tears night and day, for the hard measure she has met withal, and her children dolefully crying and mourning for want of bread!

Where is now either conscience, equity, reason, justice, or mercy? Were it not very inhuman thus to destroy innocent and harmless protestants, and thereby gratify the popish spirit and party, merely because such protestants are afraid of an oath? they dare not swear. And how is the real intent and end of the law answered, by such severe and inhuman dealings with innocent protestants; who never were impeached nor justly chargeable either with treasonable attempts, principles, or practices? They cannot be detected either in actual treason, or in being infected with any treasonable principles by any of their teachers or others; and therefore, no such persons or people as those laws of premunire were really intended against, though such can escape them. We can appeal to God, angels, and all just impartial men this is our case; we are not the people which, in point of equity or justice, the law could ever be intended against; we are of no such destructive principles or practices, as either the nature of the oath points at and intends, or the statute of premunire, 16 R. 2, c. 5, was provided against; unto which statute both that of the third of king James, c. 4, and seventh of king James, c. 6, do refer, for the penalty of a premunire upon persons refusing to swear to the declaration of their allegiance. Let that of 16 R. 2, c. 5, be considered, as to the nature and intent thereof.

George Whitehead thus continues his narrative.

It was very observeable, that before the dissolution of that long parliament in king Charles the Second's reign, which made sundry acts against us, there was a great alteration in its disposition, being much turned against persecuting dissenting protestants, especially by those

laws made against popish recusants; and there was certainly an overruling power and hand of the Lord God in that alteration and change of the spirit of that parliament, to compassion rather than persecution. He that standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the gods, did certainly judge and plead for the cause of the innocent sufferers under the great and long persecutions that had been upon them. And it was also remarkable, that some time before the said long parliament was dissolved, many of our old adversaries and rigid persecutors therein were removed by death, and new members of better spirits and tempers chosen in their stead; insomuch that before that parliament was ended, it was so changed that it appeared almost like a new house of commons.

After which, the ensuing parliaments appeared more and more considerate, and inclined to moderation and charity towards dissenting protestants; and such were we esteemed, being publicly manifest by our plain testimony against popery. For towards the conclusion of the aforesaid long parliament, which was so much altered for the better by new elections, &c. a grand committee of the whole house was appointed, to enquire into the case of the Quakers suffering by those old laws made against popish recusants, in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James the first. Divers of us appeared before that committee, among whom were William Mead, William Penn,* myself, with some others; and

* The attention of the parliament, was drawn to the consideration of the discrimination of Protestant dissenters in general from Papists, and William Penn presented petitions to both houses, praying that in the discriminating clause, the solemn declaration of a Quaker might be taken instead of his oath.

Two speeches of his before the committee on this occasion are preserved, in which he strongly denied the imputation of popery, and at the same time dared to speak his mind as to the error of persecuting any person *whatever* for their conscientious belief. The following passages from his speeches may probably be agreeable to the reader.

After speaking of the abuse which had been heaped upon himself particularly, as a papist, and even as an emissary from Rome

two things were inquired of us, or which we were to inform the said committee of.

1. If we owned ourselves to be protestant dissenters?

2. How we suffered by laws made against popish recusants?

In both which we fully satisfied the committee, and our case was generally considered unjust as well as il-

and in pay from the pope, he says: "Nay, some zealots for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us and decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, that what with one thing and what with another, we have been as the wool-sacks and common whipping stock of the kingdom. All laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to *reform* but to *destroy* us; and this not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment. But mark! I would not be mistaken; I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, that Papists should be whipt for their consciences. No; for though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us; and we complain; yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room; for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have good will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand."

Towards the conclusion he says: "I do here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make and the Society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself, of having receded from an *iota* of any one principle, maintained by those first protestants and reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the see of Rome. On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant Church; and upon occasion shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental articles of her creed too; and therefore it is we think it hard, that though we deny, in common with her, those doctrines of Rome so strenuously *protested* against, whence the name Protestants, we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we so deny." *Clarkson's Life of W. Penn, vol.* 1, *page* 221. *Editor.*

legal; since we suffered as popish recusants, when we were manifest to be real protestants, and the papists were indulged and went free; though for our parts we envied not their liberty, although we deeply suffered in their stead.

It was very remarkable, that while our persecutors were persecuting us upon the Conventicle Act, and statutes made against popish recusants, and unjustly aspersing our religious assemblies, as being seditious conventicles and very dangerous to plot and contrive insurrections, &c.; about that very time, discovery was made of the popish plot.

This plot being strictly inquired into by the commons in parliament, great information was given about it; and in the address of both houses of parliament to the king, complaint was made against the conspirators in these words, viz. "A popish party, who have not only plotted and intended the destruction of your majesty's royal person, but the total subversion of the government and true religion established among us," &c.

From which it may be observed, that it was not in any of the Quaker's meetings, nor in the meetings of any other dissenting protestants, that this conspiracy or plot was found; but among a popish party. How unjust was it therefore, so severely to persecute the people called Quakers, and violently to interrupt their religious meetings, under pretence of being seditious and dangerous to plot and contrive insurrections, to imprison their persons, to fine them, and often to spoil their goods? And not only to treat them thus, but to prosecute them upon those laws made against popish recusants and not against innocent protestants; even whilst, as it is said, "this restless party (meaning of papists) not content with the great liberty they had a long time enjoyed, to exercise their own religion privately among themselves, to partake of an equal freedom of their persons and estates with your majesty's protestant subjects, and of an advantage above them

in being excused from chargeable offices and employments," &c. So that it then appeared to the parliament, that the papists escaped the penalties of those old laws made against them, for their absence from their parish churches, much more than the people called Quakers could, who deeply suffered thereby.

After the discovery of the said popish plot, and the impeachment, trial, and condemnation of William Lord Viscount Stafford, in December, 1680, the parliament thought it very necessary to consider and provide some means to increase the interest of all protestants, and strengthen and unite them in interest and affection, for the better security of the kingdom and government; which had been long weakened and greatly injured by persecution.

Then the parliament bethought themselves of preparing and bringing in a bill for dissenting protestants. In the votes of the house of commons, the 16th day of December, 1680, there is this, viz.

"A bill for exempting his majesty's protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, was read the first time."

This bill was read a second time, and it was "resolved, that the said bill be committed upon the debate of the house, to the committee to whom the bill for uniting his majesty's protestant subjects is committed upon the debate of the house."

Divers Friends attended the committee some considerable time that winter, about the said bill, both early and late; desiring that it might be made effectual for our just liberty and freedom from persecution, and clear from all clauses and provisoes which might in any way be a snare to us, or contrary to our tender consciences; and to answer the end intended both by the title and preamble; the title being, "A bill of ease to all protestant dissenters;" and the preamble thus: "Forasmuch as some ease to tender consciences in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite his

majesty's protestant subjects in interest and affection, which is highly necessary in this time of imminent danger from the common enemy the papists, be it enacted," &c.

Which bill contained divers clauses which are in the act of the first of king William the Third, for exempting protestant dissenters from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, that is, of those made against popish recusants and conventicles, whereby we the said people chiefly suffered; and also in the said bill this special exemption was made in our favour, viz.

"And whereas there are certain other persons, dissenters from the Church of England, which scruple taking any oath.

"Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration, and also this declaration of allegiance following," &c.

The first being the declaration mentioned in a statute, made in the twentieth year of king Charles the Second, entitled, "An act to prevent papists from sitting in either house of parliament."

The second being the declaration of allegiance, without taking the oath: which divers Friends have formerly proffered, being willing to sign the declaration without swearing to it, or using any of the words which render it an oath, as I swear, this oath, &c. or the final imprecation of, "so help me God," which more fully makes it an oath, together with kissing the book.

As we were to be exempted from these, we esteemed it a favour then intended us; though it could not in that parliament and reign of king Charles the Second, be brought into an act; yet there was some honest and good beginning, which afterward, in the reign of king William the Third, upon more mature deliberation was made more effectual.

The chairman of that committee which sat upon the said bill, was the lord Finch, since earl of Nottingham,

who then appeared favourable and friendly to us; and for promoting the said bill into an act, if it could have been, in that parliament; and to some of us since that, he has positively declared his opinion to be for toleration, without which neither we nor their church are safe.

In the said committee we met with some interruption, by two or three members who were favourers of the Presbyterians and Independents' societies; they offering terms of the ease intended in the said bill, in behalf of their friends the Presbyterians and Independents, which we the people called Quakers could not assent to, namely, the taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. And if they had gotten what they offered, inserted in the bill or act, as terms of ease to dissenting protestants, we well knew we should have been excluded, and still exposed to persecution and sufferings. I was indeed burdened when they made such an offer, because I was sensible it tended to the injury of many other conscientious protestant dissenters.

Wherefore on the same occasion I quickly went both to colonel Birch and Alderman Love, and cleared my conscience to them against what they had offered; knowing it would be very uneasy to truly conscientious dissenters, to have the oath of supremacy imposed upon them; and thereby to swear, that they utterly declare and testify in their conscience, that the king's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, &c. as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things, or cases, as temporal, &c. How to reconcile with this oath, their dissenting in spiritual or ecclesiastical matters from the Church of England, I knew not, neither did I find they could tell or demonstrate; nor how they could promise, that to their power they would assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the king, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.

I did both seriously and tenderly clear my conscience in the matter to them; for I wished well to the men. After all our endeavours to have the said bill of ease passed with safety into an act, and our attendance on that parliament, the king's dissolving the same prevented it.

One circumstance I took particular notice of: one night when we were attending the said committee, Sir Christopher Musgrave came and complained to the committee, against the severe usage of many of our Friends; telling the committee the prisons were filled with them, and how many for small matters were excommunicated and imprisoned; and what a shame and scandal it was to their Church, to use the Qakers so hardly for such small matters, &c.; or to the same effect.

I little expected he would have then appeared openly an advocate so far for our suffering Friends, being a person who professed much zeal for their Church; yet he saw it was not for its honour, to be guilty of such severe persecution.

Although that parliament did not pass the act intended for the ease of protestant dissenters, yet before their dissolution they passed a vote against persecution.

It was resolved in the house of commons: "That it is the opinion of this house, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws,* is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom."

Being sensible the Lord was pleased to open the eyes of the parliament, to see what a popish design it was, for a protestant church, so called, to prosecute protestants; we were the more concerned at that time to

* Although these laws were originally designed against the Papists, yet all persons who did not go to church, and did not receive the sacrament once a year, were liable to their penalties.
Editor.

attend the parliament, and to encourage their endeavours against persecution; to frustrate the design of popery, which is persecution and violent coercion. The zeal then stirring in the government against the same, deserved to be countenanced, though it had not the desired effect.

However just and good motions and endeavours, may for a time be overruled and frustrated, they will in time revive and break forth again, and be made to take effect by a Divine overruling power and providence, as has in our days appeared. Thanks be to God who has opened the eyes of the government on sundry occasions, especially in latter times, against popery and persecution, which are both one in nature and ground: for persecution for conscience is popery, whatever church, people, or profession are for it or abet it; they are drunk and blind, and shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God.

Another instance of the parliament's design to remove persecution, was the passing a bill in both houses, entitled, "An act for the repeal of a statute made in the 35th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth;" and taking notice thereof in the ensuing parliament at Oxford, in the vote of 24 die martii, 1680–81, that it was not presented to his majesty, as the rest of the bills were, for his royal assent. And also it was resolved, that the house would next day take into consideration, by what means the said bill miscarried.

According to which order, in the next day's votes it is declared:

"That the house took into consideration, the matter relating to the bill which passed both houses in the last parliament, entitled, an act for the repeal of a statute made in the 35th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth; but was not tendered to his majesty for his royal assent.*

* Burnet says: "On the day of the prorogation, the bill ought to have been offered to the king; but the clerk of the crown, by

How this bill came to miscarry we did not hear; whether designedly mislaid or stolen, was questioned. It was pity it was not presented and passed, as both parliaments desired, viz. that in 1680 at Westminster, and that at Oxford 1681. For if the said statute of the 35th of queen Elizabeth had been utterly repealed, it had given a blow to the design of persecution and popery, which is greatly strengthened thereby; it being a precident and plea for the popish church to use their most severe persecution against protestants, even unto death, for their religion and dissent from the Church of Rome. The said statute of the 35th of queen Elizabeth being a sanguinary law, to force dissenters to abjure the realm upon pain of death; and in her days several were put to death.

And there appears as much reason that that severe and sanguinary law should be disannulled and abrogated, as there was for the utter abolishment of the writ, *de hæretico comburendo*, and all proceedings thereupon, with all punishment by death in pursuance of any ecclesiastical censures; which were so abolished by the statute of the 29th Car. 2. ch. 9.

For as the popish hierarchy and governments unjustly turned the execution of the said writ against the protestant martyrs, so they were as likely to turn the said statute of queen Elizabeth 35, against the protestant dissenters; and there was the same reason for the repealing of one as the other.

However, it was a mercy of God to the nation, to raise up a contrary spirit to that of persecution in the parliament in those days. And yet that furious spirit remained among many of the clergy, and the irreligious followers and members of their church, who were still watching for opportunities to renew persecution against honest innocent people, especially against us,

the king's particular order, withdrew the bill. The king had no mind openly to deny it, but he had less mind to pass it."

Editor.

and to enforce a conformity in church and worship with them, contrary to our consciences; we being under a Divine obligation to worship God in spirit and truth, and not in human traditions, after the commandments, doctrines, or precepts of men.

It is true we had some times of respite and ease from severe persecutions in those days, upon the king's said declaration for liberty to tender consciences; yet those times were but short, in comparison of the long continuance of those renewed persecutions which we suffered in those days.

Informers, like beasts of prey, were lurking, creeping, and sculking about in many or most parts of the nation, where our Friends had meetings for the worship of God; being encouraged by those of the clergy and persecuting magistrates, who esteemed them useful servants of their church* to enforce conformity, though without conviction of conscience. Several of the priests also turning informers and assisting to disturb our religious meetings in divers places; all which ministered encouragement to such vile persons, in their unchristian and destructive work against innocent families and people.

Some of the priests even pleaded for and preached up coercion in matters of religion, from those texts, *Ezra* vii. 26, and *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2; though miserably perverted when applied to uphold persecution for matters of conscience, comparing both texts with the decree of

* William Crouch and I, anno 1683, having some discourse with Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, at his palace at Lambeth, about the great sufferings of our Friends by informers, and I telling him what wicked persons they were, and that many of them had forsworn themselves, and deserved to be indicted for perjury; and what a dishonour it was to their Church, to employ such agents to force people to a conformity by persecution and spoil, &c.; to excuse them his answer was: "There must be some crooked timber used in building a ship," or "A ship cannot be built without some crooked timber in it." Was not this a learned and apt comparison, to show what sort of timber must needs help to build and support their Church!

Artaxerxes king of Persia, and the great encouragement and liberty of conscience which he granted, and gave to Ezra and Israel, with respect to the worship and service of their God according to their religion; as fully appears in the same chapter.

If an emperor, king, or chief ruler be a papist or an idolater, and would force me to be of his religion, or conform to his way and manner of worship, upon some great penalties or pains, even of death itself; I must not therefore comply with him or be subject to his will therein, if I be a true Christian, but stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath set me free; or otherwise I should fall under miserable bondage, and lose my inward peace with God. And then what good would all the world do me? I would rather make Moses's choice, to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a short season; and at last end in tribulation and anguish of soul.

It was observable, that when the informers were let loose and countenanced by authority against us, they generally sought more after our estates than the confinement of our persons, because imprisonment would not be their gain; although many of our Friends remained in prisons, as appears by the following petition.

TO THE KING.

The humble petition of above a thousand prisoners, commonly called Quakers,

Showeth:

That our renewed hardships, our continued and increasing imprisonments, do occasion this our humble complaint and request; of which we intreat the king's favourable acceptance and tender resentments. We do solemnly declare, that we know no other cause for our strait confinements and hard usage, than what concerns our tender consciences, in serving and worshipping Almighty God that made us; being well known to be persons of quiet conversation and peaceable behaviour, and

clear in the sight of God of all seditious contrivances, plots, and conspiracies, and are not evilly affected towards the king's person or government. Howbeit, several gaols are filled, without regard to sex, age, or condition, not only to the impairing our healths, but endangering many of our lives; many having already died prisoners, the greatest part of late committed for our peaceable religious meetings; many of us under fines for that account, and upon the act of 13 and 14 Car. 2. c. 1, extending also to banishment. In some gaols, many of us crowded in nasty holes and mixed among felons; many under sentence of premunire, not for refusing fidelity or allegiance to the king, but only not swearing the same for conscience' sake; many under sentence of excommunication, committed on writs of excom. cap. &c. for nonconformity, &c. and have undergone long and tedious imprisonments. By which confinements and hardships, many innocent and industrious families are left destitute and in distress; many honest tradesmen, husbandmen, and farmers, greatly discouraged and spoiled in their trades and livelihoods; and many poor families depending on them for employment, now for lack thereof exposed to great penury and want. Besides the violence and woful spoil made upon many, both in city and country, by informers, persecutions, &c.; and for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized into the king's hands, &c.; which will unavoidably force many to shut up shops and leave off their trades and farms, &c. (as some have done already) if not timely relieved.

We therefore, who are concerned in the sufferings aforesaid, do in all Christian humility request, that the king in his princely compassion, will please to take our distressed case into his tender consideration, and afford us relief from these hardships and imprisonments, as he hath formerly done for many of our suffering Friends, which we do thankfully acknowledge; we being sincerely desirous, by the grace of God, to live peaceably and inoffensively under the king and his government.

Wherefore, according as our conversations are found concurring with this our solemn profession, we humbly crave liberty, that we may provide for our distressed families, and be capable of rendering to Cæsar those things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's; according to our Christian principle and persuasion.

We did not only in this manner labour to influence the king with a sense of the general case of our Friends' sufferings, but also were very free and desirous to give him particular and plain instances thereof; in which concern I was many times very free to appear before the king himself; especially when desired to assist such Friends as were concerned for the sufferers, when they have come to London to apply to him in their behalf; and also when we have had certain accounts of great oppressions sent from several parts of the nation, I have been stirred in spirit and desirous to acquaint the king therewith; that he might be inexcusable, and not plead ignorance of the miseries of those his innocent subjects.

In my appearing before the king and council, as by the following account, our Friends Lawrence Steel and Charles Jones, jun. of Bristol, were with me; being come to London on purpose to seek relief or some ease for our Friends, who were then closely confined and crowded in prison in that city.*

* In this time of persecution (1682) Bristol was almost preeminent in suffering. The meetings of Friends were disturbed in the most brutal manner; and by the proceedings against them many families were ruined. So many also were committed to prison, that at length there was no more room in the gaols. About fifty persons were crowded into one room, which was so nasty that one of the aldermen said: "If he had a dog which he loved, he would not put him there." Four physicians of Bristol signed a certificate, declaring that the closeness of the prisoners' confinement and their want of room for rest, was in danger of inducing infectious distempers. The sheriff, however, who was the main actor in the persecution, disregarded all representations; and there appears to have been but little commisseration excited in the public mind, in behalf of the poor Quakers. So desperately wicked was the gaoler,

Being willing to assist them what I could in solicitation, as I was deeply and compassionately affected toward our said Friends, I acquainted some of the lords of the privy council, as Prince Rupert the lord president, and lord chancellor with the case; and desired we might be heard before the king and council the following council day, which was granted us. Prince Rupert and the lord president appeared most compassionate and tender toward our Friends, when they understood the extremity of their sufferings; and the lord chancellor moderate.

The substance of passages discoursed before the king and council, relating to the extreme sufferings of the people called Quakers, in the city of Bristol. George Whitehead, Lawrence Steel, and Charles Jones, jun. being called in before the king and council, the 17th of the 12th month, 1681–2.

Some question arising about taking off their hats, the clerk of the council, Sir Thomas Doleman, came to the door to take them off, but was forbidden, it was said by the king; so they were concluded to come in before the king and council with their hats on; which they did accordingly.

Some present said: "Go up to the king;" being at the head of the board.

George Whitehead then went nearer the king.

George Whitehead's introductory request.

"That our complaint and suffering case may be heard and considered abstractedly from those religious circumstances we are under, which may seem disgustful to you, that we may have justice done us.

"These persons, Lawrence Steel and Charles Jones, jun. are come from Bristol, on purpose to seek relief of the king from the hard usage our Friends suffer under in that city, beyond the severity of the law, as we conceive.

that when the prisoners complained for want of room, he said to his man, if he could but shut the door it would be well enough.—See *Sewel*. *Editor.*

"They are able to speak to matters of fact, from their own knowledge, how our Friends are used; we intreat the king that they may be heard; and for matter of law, we shall leave that for you to judge of."

One in council. "What reason have we to believe their words against other men's oaths, who are sworn for the king?"

George Whitehead. "We intreat that they may be heard, to give their accounts on those particulars complained of in our petition, which is delivered in before you and I suppose read; and then we shall refer the credit of the matters complained of to your consciences, that accordingly we may have justice done us."

King. "Your petition is not now read; would you have it read? It has been read before."

Lawrence Steel. "This contains further matter than what has yet been read before you."

Lord Chancellor. "Of what do you complain?"

Lawrence Steel. "We complain of the havoc and spoil made upon the freehold and tenement, and breaking open closets, boxes, &c."

Lord Chancellor. "What, you mean of the meeting room?"

Lawrence Steel. "Nay, the tenement adjoining to the meeting room; we complain of the rude multitudes haling and tearing women's clothes, and offering shameful incivilities to them; also their pulling an innocent man's coat off his back, and taking money out of his pocket," &c. [Of this, though he had more to speak, they seemed not willing to hear it.]

Lord Chancellor. "Of whom do you complain?"

Lawrence Steel. "We are loath to recriminate persons by name."

Lord Chancellor. "But you must tell us who. Is it the mayor?" &c.

George Whitehead. "Let them have some of their names."

Lawrence Steel. "John Helliar and sheriff Knight, with a rude multitude."

George Whitehead. "It appears that the sheriff and John Helliar, and other officers, have been most busy, and have encouraged the rude multitude in their abusive and riotous proceedings, and forced many to gaol directly from their meeting, at their will and pleasure, without any examination before a justice, or warrant of commitment; and then have so crowded and filled the gaol, that the prisoners have not room to take their natural rest; but some are forced to sit up in the nights."

Lord Chancellor. "What would you have the king do? Would you have him relieve you from the law?"

George Whitehead. "No; we desire the king may relieve us from such irregular proceedings, as we conceive the law does not warrant."

Lord Chancellor. "Why then do you not take course at law, and relieve yourselves by law?"

George Whitehead. "The prisoners and sufferers in Bristol, are disabled from relieving themselves by course of law."

Lord Chancellor. How are they disabled? What reason can you give that they are so disabled?"

George Whitehead. "Several reasons, as,

"First, they are prosecuted on the Conventicle Act, made the 22nd year of the king; and all the relief allowed us by law, is by way of appeal: and it admits of appeal to no higher court, than the court of sessions belonging to the same county, which is the county of Bristol, where there is no probability of relief upon appeal; because there they must appeal to their adversaries, as some there in authority are; and John Knight, sheriff, is an extreme adversary, and has been violent against them; and he has return of the juries according to his own purpose.——"

King. "Can you not procure a London jury then?" &c.*

George Whitehead. "Besides, if they make their ap-

* Supposed to be meant of the jury that acquitted the earl of Shaftsbury, and some others, upon trial in London.

peal, they are liable to have the oath of allegiance put to them, to prevent prosecuting their appeal; for such kind of precipitant course hath been used against us."

One in council. "He counts the tender of the oath of allegiance a precipitancy," &c.

George Whitehead. "No, it is the manner of requiring it, I mean; when it is done with design to anticipate the appellant and prevent the trial of his appeal.

"Secondly, the riots and abuses that are committed upon our Friends at their meetings, by tearing women's scarfs, beating, throwing persons down, &c. which are done by a rude company that are encouraged by the constables and officers who should keep the peace: so that there is none that will arrest or apprehend the rioters, that we know of, because the officers take their parts and animate them; and the rioters and abusive persons can readily escape in the crowd.

"The third reason———."

King. "And thirdly; let us hear the third reason."

George Whitehead. "The third reason of their being disabled is, for those of our Friends that are committed to gaol; though we conceive their commitment irregular, yet if they should enter actions of false imprisonment against those that committed them, they may be destroyed in their strait and close confinement before they can have relief by a course of law that way; they being so severely kept under hatches by their adversaries, if they should enter actions of false imprisonment against them, that might be an occasion to them to revenge themselves the more severely on the prisoners in the mean time."

One in council. "Seeing the conventicle act admits of no appeal to any higher court than to the same court of sessions for that county, why do you appeal or make your complaint here? what would you have the king do for you?"

George Whitehead. "We desire the king, and you of his council, tenderly to consider our suffering case,

and how far the king may relieve us from those irregular proceedings that shall appear contrary to law."

Lord Chancellor. "You would have the king to relieve you from the law, to interpose between you and the law; which he cannot do."

George Whitehead. "No, under favour, lord chancellor, that inference follows not from what is proposed on our parts; we desire that the king would be pleased to interpose between us and the destruction that attends us, through the irregular and extreme proceedings of those persons, who (whilst they pretend to put the king's laws in execution, and in pursuance of an order from him) exceed all the severity and bounds of the law: our present complaint therefore lies, not against the law or execution thereof simply; but against the mal-administration, the hard usage, and exorbitant proceedings we met with, contrary to all law and justice as we conceive."

Lord Chancellor. "Well, we have heard you; you may withdraw."

George Whitehead. "May it please the king yet to hear me a little farther, that the king and you his ministers may understand how probable the truth of our complaint is against those irregular and erroneous proceedings in Bristol, and how incident the justices there are to commit error in their proceedings against our Friends who suffer there; please to take one instance, viz.

"The most of their warrants of commitment, or mittimusses whereby our Friends are committed to gaol, and whereof we have here copies, are defective and wanting in two material points, as,

"First, the justices do not therein signify their lawful authority, as being the king's justices of the peace before whom the prisoners were brought. And,

"Secondly, their command to the keeper of the gaol for safe custody of the prisoners, is not given in the king's majesty's name, but in their own private names; except that there is one named major, and one William

Bristol; the rest are only in their private or personal names: no mention made in their mandamus to the keeper, that these are in his majesty's name to will and require you, &c. but only they commit them in their own private names. This we conceive is irregular and unwarrantable in law; and this I give only as one instance, to evince the probability of the truth of our complaint, and that those justices are subject to err in their proceedings in omitting such material points."

Lord Chancellor. "Those defects are exceptions pleadable, and they may be heard if they remove themselves by habeas corpus."

L. P. S. "That exception of yours will not serve your turn."

Lord Chancellor. "You may withdraw, &c."

George Whitehead. "May it please the king and you his ministers to observe this one thing, namely, that those officers and rude persons in Bristol, who have done so much violence and spoil to our Friends, pretend power and authority from the king for such their proceedings; and under pretext of an order from the king to put the laws in execution, they take liberty to commit all their disorders and abuses against our Friends, because of their innocent meetings.

"Which being seriously considered, I hope the king will see cause to do himself justice, and likewise you his ministers will be concerned to do yourselves as well as us justice, by putting some stop to these their destructive proceedings, the violence and spoil they make under such pretence of the king's order and authority; pray let it be duly considered, whether or no thereby they do not reflect upon the king, and dishonour him before his people, whilst they render him the patron or mover of these their riotous and oppressive proceedings against the king's peaceable subjects; and whether or no they do not reflect upon you his ministers, tending to render you suspicious in the eyes of the people? I hope, on serious and tender consideration of these things, you will see cause to do yourselves and us justice.

"You have had experience of us, and of our peaceable deportment towards the king and government for above these twenty years; it is very hard we should now be thus severely used at this time a day!

"We have here a more large and particular state of our suffering case, which we desire you to receive and take notice of."

Which case at large, being very fairly written in several sheets of paper, on the one side of each sheet; George Whitehead delivered to the council board, in the king's presence; where it was received and laid down on the board, before the lord privy seal and lord chancellor, &c.

At last George Whitehead thus concluded, viz.

"I pray God preserve the king, and direct you his ministers, to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with God."

I do confess I was under a very weighty concern of spirit, to use my earnest endeavours in solicitation, in this heavy suffering case of our Bristol Friends, who then were sorely oppressed and abused; for it was a time of very hot, resolved persecution against them.

And upon a thorough inspection into their case, and viewing the copies of the warrants of commitment against the prisoners, together with the accounts of the riotous, shameful, and abusive work made against our Friends at their meetings in that city; I clearly perceived both how invidious, inconsiderate, and ignorant of law and justice the magistrates of that city were, who were then most busy against our Friends and most ready to grant warrants against them, either to imprison their persons or seize their goods, thereby to gratify mercenary informers and the worst of persecutors; to the great dishonour and reproach of that city, which formerly had been esteemed a place having more of profession and religion in it than many others.

The king appearing affected with the innocency and boldness of my pleading the sufferers' case, allowed me the more liberty to plead it against the persecutors;

and not only so, but he suffered us (Lawrence Steel, Charles Jones, and myself) to stand, and me to plead before him and his council, with our hats on our heads all the time, which was about three quarters of an hour. And indeed the king had the more reason to suffer us in that posture, seeing he would not permit our hats to be taken off by the clerk of the council, when we were called in before him, as we understood; being minded to give himself some pleasant diversion, by trying us in our plainness and simplicity, agreeable to our profession and self-denying testimony.

In the years 1682 and 1683, George Whitehead appears to have been four times convicted under the Conventicle Act. In one of these cases, of which he has left a particular account, on being brought before the lord mayor for having preached at a meeting, this officer, instead of calling for his accusers, enquired of the prisoner *whether he did not preach at the meeting*. George Whitehead declined accusing himself; and on the question being put again by one of the mayor's officers, he again declined; and asked for his accusers. At length two persons who apprehended him were called to give evidence, when the following imperfect testimony was given by them.

A train-band-officer. "I saw his lips go, but heard him not what he said."

Constable. "I heard his voice, but could not tell what he said so as to make sense of it; only I heard him mention Jesus Christ and the Spirit."

George Whitehead desired the lord mayor to notice, how far the testimony fell short of establishing the fact, which was constituted an offence by the act; and expressed a hope, that none would allow that to mention Jesus Christ or the Spirit, was contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England. The plea of the prisoner, however reasonable, proved unavailing; he was fined twenty pounds, and distraint to a considerable amount was made on his goods.

On a subsequent occasion he was fined forty pounds; (it being the second conviction before the same magistrate;) without having been heard in his own defence or summoned to appear to answer the charges against him. The distraint was made with great violence; the constable, with two assistants, breaking open the back shop door, and several chamber doors; seizing, says the narrative, "beds and bedding, (not leaving him a bed to lie upon,) all, moderately valued, worth twenty-one pounds ten shillings. Then they seized linen, with a scrutoire, six cane bottomed chairs and others, and a large looking-glass, value five pounds eighteen shillings. Then they seized shop goods, currants and sugar, value five pounds twelve shillings; all moderately valued by the owners, amounting to thirty-three pounds. Though the goods so seized were not suffered to be inventoried, weighed, or appraised before being carried away.

"Two of George Whitehead's friends, to wit, John Edge and Joseph Peckover, fairly endeavouring but to persuade the constables to more moderation, and to suffer an inventory of the goods before taken away, were apprehended at the same time, and for no other cause; the constable swearing a riot against them, they were committed to Newgate, and there continued for above ten weeks, to their own and their families' great injury and damage: the said Joseph being a Norfolk man, was near eighty miles from home."

George Whitehead thought it right to appeal against the conviction, under which the last distraint upon him had been made; and he obtained a reversal of the magistrate's judgment. He could, however, obtain the return of only eleven pounds, that being the amount which had been paid into court as the sum made of the articles distrained. In another case, wherein he had been convicted by the recorder of London, he procured a respite of judgment, so that distraint was not made; and he succeeded, on appeal, in establishing the illegality of the proceedings. He observes, that he was

the more willing to seek justice, in these cases, by appeal to a superior court, though at a heavy expense, for the sake of many of his Friends under similar prosecutions, *through the agency of those beasts of prey the informers.*

George Whitehead made a pretty copious selection of passages from the Liturgy of the Church of England, to which he gave publicity, to show that the proceedings of himself and his friends were not *contrary* to it; especially that the assembling together for mutual exhortation and edification, for worshiping God in spirit and in truth, without limitation to time or place, and the liberty of ministering according to the ability received, were recommended in several passages of the Common Prayer Book.

SECTION XV.

Sufferings of Friends confined in Norwich, and endeavours for their release.—Persecution very severe.—G. Whitehead suffers by severe distraints in 1683.—Sufferings of Friends in London, and George Whitehead imprisoned in Newgate, 1684.

The sufferings of Friends confined in prisons still continued to be very great; and in few places, if any, were they more severe than in the city of Norwich; where a considerable number of honest people were closely confined in a low, nasty dungeon, twenty seven steps below the guild-hall of the city.

George Whitehead has given the following account of his own and his Friends exertions for their relief.

On the 22nd day of the 12th month, 1682–3, a state of the case of the prisoners, commonly called Quakers, in Norwich, Gloucester, Bristol, Yorkshire, and Northampton, directed to the king, with request for relief, was delivered into the hands of the earl of Rochester, by George Whitehead, with desire that he would please to show it to the king; which he promised he would.

The 23rd George Whitehead again spake to earl of Rochester, and desired him to show the said case both to the king and duke; which he promised he would do and said: "I will read it to the king this night." George Whitehead told him, that we are advised to deliver Norwich case singly by itself, to the council; which we intend to do this day.

Accordingly the same being the day the judges appeared at council before they went their circuits, George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey then attending, the case of Norwich suffering Friends was delivered at the council board by Sir Philip Lloyd, who was preen-

gaged to present it and to move the reading of it, which accordingly he did; but was obstructed the reading by some in council, on pretence that it was not a formal petition, or not in the usual form.

The 24th of the twelfth month, 1682–3, George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey went to the lord privy seal, and spake to him about the said case of Norwich prisoners. He told us: That notwithstanding the objection made in the council, the king recommended moderation to the judges when they were below, and enquiry into the state of the prisoners and their usage. This he told us twice over.

A little after George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey had spoken to the lord privy seal, they went up into the gallery to speak with the king, at his coming out of the park: where, after some time of waiting, the duke and his attendants passed by to meet the king; and after a little space, the king and his attendants came along the long gallery towards his lodgings. George Whitehead then stepped up to the king without any interruption, the whole company being civil, and thus proceeded:

"May it please the king to grant us the favour of a few words; it is in behalf of many of the king's peaceable subjects who are prisoners at Norwich, and there like to be buried alive in holes and dungeons."

King. "Can they not swear themselves out of prison?"

George Whitehead. "Under favour, such are not in Society with us. We entreat the king to commisserate this distressed case of the prisoners in Norwich, for they are burying them alive in a dungeon under ground."

King. "Have you a paper? If you have a paper of their case, I will take it."

George Whitehead. "Yes, here is a paper;" which he delivered into the king's hand, and he gently took it.

George Whitehead proceeded: "They are a poor harmless people, poor woolcombers, weavers, and tradesmen, &c. likely to be destroyed in prison, in holes

under ground; we entreat the king not to suffer these his peaceable subjects to be buried alive."

With more discourse which the said George Whitehead then had with the king; and I perceived these last words took most hold upon him, viz. my entreating him not to suffer his peaceable subjects to be buried alive.

Gilbert Latey then stepped to the king, saying, "We are the king's subjects that never did any thing against him; we have been peaceable, and we can truly say, have served him and never were against him; yet our Friends are great sufferers, and they lie in a dungeon twenty-seven steps deep in the ground in Norwich: wherefore we have the more earnestly sought their relief."

My friend Gilbert Latey, as well as myself, being often tenderly affected with our Friends' deep sufferings and hardships, spake to the king in very tender affection, and a sense of the Lord's power and holy fear; which reached the king's heart and conscience, and others about him, beyond his utterance or what he could in words demonstrate. G. L. being also freely resigned to accompany me, and, according to his ability, to assist in those exercises and applications in the sufferers' behalf; and we were often comforted together, and assisted in our endeavours by the power of the Lord, which we had special and very tender regard unto; and He thereby helped and strengthened us, to his praise and our great comfort and encouragement: glory to his excellent name and power for ever!

After I had earnestly moved the king for relief of our suffering Friends in Norwich, he gave some instructions about the prisoners to the judges, who were to go the Norfolk circuit next following. Accordingly at Norwich, judge Hugh Windham gave order that the prisons or rooms therein should be viewed, where the Quakers were confined, and affidavits to be made thereof before a master in chancery; which accordingly was done by an attorney, and the affidavits were sent up to

me; containing a true account of matter of fact, relating to the places where our Friends were so miserably confined.

Whereupon our Friend William Crouch went with me to the said judge Windham, to deliver the affidavits to him; esteeming him the most proper person to take cognizance thereof, it being obtained pursuant to his order or advice at the assizes before; that he might acquaint the king therewith. But instead of so doing, or of showing compassion to the sufferers, he refused to receive or accept the affidavits which he himself had ordered; only he did a little look upon and read them, or part of them, and fell to reproaching the meetings of our Friends, as being riots and riotous, &c.; when they were forcibly kept out of their meeting-house and met peaceably in the street, and there stood quietly waiting upon the Lord, in a peaceable and inoffensive posture. For so our Friends at Norwich and other places did, as I told the judge; and that therefore such their peaceable meetings could be no riots, nor riotous meetings, there neither being any show of arms, nor menacing words, nor any violence offered, nor any injury done to the persons or properties of any others.

Upon which discourse the judge seemed offended; and standing up with his arms akimbo, and his hands on his sides, answered: "You'll know the law better than I, I warrant you; but I will have you know, you shall not be masters over the law, but the law shall be master over you, so long as I live or have to do with the law," &c.

I answered: "I will not compare with thee as to knowledge and learning in the law; thou hast had the advantage of education therein, which I have not had; yet nevertheless, I have had occasion in my time, to understand something of truth and justice, &c. having been a sufferer myself, on a conscientious account, under the several governments since we were a people, both in Oliver Cromwell's days and since; and in all my sufferings and trials, I never saw cause to

change my judgment, or turn with the times; but rather, through all, to be the more confirmed in what I believe and profess respecting religion."

I also spake further and closely to him, how that he had had an opportunity and power to have done our suffering Friends in Norwich some kindness, in order to their relief; and withal told him, that he and I, and all men, must give account to the Great Judge of all, for all our actions, and he for not relieving our poor suffering Friends; or to that purpose. And seeing he would not accept the affidavits before mentioned, so as to deliver the same to the king, I asked him: "What we should do with them?" He said; "You may carry them to my lord keeper," that is, North; which advice, though slightly given, I readily took hold of: having cleared my conscience to him the said judge, who at last carried himself more mildly towards us, than he did in the former part of our discourse.

The next day William Crouch and I went to the said lord keeper, at his house; and being admitted to him in his closet, I told him, by judge Windham's advice we were come to him with certain affidavits from Norwich, which the judge had given order for, concerning the confinement of our Friends who were detained close prisoners; and then delivered the affidavits to him. Whereupon he began to accuse our Friends' meetings with being riotous, much after the same manner judge Windham had done. I fairly reasoned the case with him a little while on our Friends' behalf, and after some discourse told him, that we hoped he would present those affidavits to the king, procured by judge Windham's order pursuant to the king's instructions. Whereupon the keeper promised he would deliver them; upon which I was eased in my spirit, for that the king might thereby see our Friends' hard usage in the gaol and dungeon in Norwich the more confirmed, by such a legal proof as he could not deny. Not doubting the keeper's performance of his promise, we left the case with him and withdrew.

Our labour and solicitation for our oppressed Friends at Norwich held a considerable time, and their suffering was the more prolonged by their persecutor Stebbings, of whose cruelty their chief complaints were; to excuse and palliate which, his endeavours were to render the sufferers criminal and as obnoxious as he could, aspersing them as obstinate, riotous, &c. thereby to incense the magistrates and government against them; which gave us occasion to be the more zealously concerned to discover, to his and our superiors, his unwarrantable and inhuman proceedings against the poor, harmless sufferers; and farther to make application to the king in the sufferers' behalf: wherein my ancient friend Gilbert Latey was willing and free to be concerned with me; and accordingly we took an opportunity to go to the king.

On the 25th of the second month, 1683, we took boat for Kingston; but the weather began to be so very stormy and tempestuous upon the river, that we were forced to take in at Wandsworth, and lodge there that night at the widow Springets. Next morning we arose by the time it was well light, and walked to Kingston; it raining almost all the way. We made some stop at Ann Fielders, at Kingston, till we had a little refreshed ourselves, and dried our clothes; and then we hastened away to Hampton-court, to meet with the king before he went to council.

As we went along the park toward the court, saw at a distance divers persons standing in the porch, looking towards us; and one above the rest I observed, who I believed was the king, by his blue ribband and black cap. And not being willing to go abruptly into his presence, to open our case to him without his leave, at a little distance I called to the king, desiring him to favour us with a few words; which he presently granting, one of his gentlemen came to us, and gently took off our hats and hung them on the pales before the court; and then we went to the king, who was ready to hear us.

Divers great persons being present at the gate, I proceeded to open our case to him, concerning the continuance of the hard suffering of our Friends in Norwich, in manner following.

First, I reminded the king, that our poor Friends were still continued under great hardships, in gaol, in holes, and a dungeon under ground, and desired that the king, in his clemency, would please to relieve them; further opening their distressed case.

The king answered; "It is against law they suffer so, and I will take care concerning them."

I was truly glad when I heard him give this answer; believing that the complaints which had been made to him of our Friends, hard usage, and the affidavits of others thereof, had such credit and weight with him, that I hoped he would cause them to be released.

The king questioned us about the reason of our not putting off our hats, and using the terms *thee* and *thou yea* and *nay*. To which we gave him answer particularly, viz. that if we could put off our hats to any mortal, it should be to the king first; but for conscience' sake we could not to any mortal, but only in our approaching God in prayer. To which the king gave no particular reply.

George Whitehead. "Thou and thee to one person is Scripture language, and the true way of speaking."

Gilbert Latey. "As Paul did to king Agrippa, *Acts* xxvi. 2, viz. 'I think myself happy, O king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee, touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews; especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews.'" &c.

George Whitehead. "Concerning yea and nay, we are not strictly tied to the expressions, but sometimes use those of the same signification; as yes and no," &c.

A great person present asked us: "Why do you call him king? Why do you not call him his majesty?"

George Whitehead. "As he is king he has majesty

belonging to him, it is included; his majesty is his greatness and power."

King. "You should not stand upon things in affectation; the word *you* is now become usual in English; and the word *yeah* is used by seamen, when they call from the top of the mast to be heard upon deck; it is also a Dutch word, who express it *yah*."

George Whitehead. "We affect not singularity in words or behaviour, but desire to demean ourselves in that plainness and simplicity, which we are in conscience persuaded unto."

King. "The words *thee* and *thou*, might have been better translated out of the Greek, *you*," &c.

George Whitehead. "If so, then the translators were as simple as we the Quakers."

King. "Many of your Friends can swear, or take an oath, rather than lose their voices in election."

George Whitehead. "Though some few persons have sworn, who have sometimes gone under a profession, yet they are not in society with us."

Gilbert Latey. "We are as much dissatisfied with such as have done so, as the king can be.

George Whitehead. "We desire nothing to be done to the prejudice or dishonour of the king, nor to join with or promote any interest against the king. The Lord knows our hearts; we have not the least design or desire, for the subversion or change of the government; nor can we reasonably be supposed to have any such design, seeing we were deep sufferers in Cromwell's time, as I myself was: therefore there is no reason we should seek to promote any interest against the king, but only desire, that God in his wisdom may direct and preserve the king, and that nothing may be done or suffered, that may be to the king's dishonour or hurt."

Gilbert Latey. "We would not lose our point that we came to the king for; that is, the case of our distressed Friends in Norwich, to whom we desire the king to show his princely clemency for their relief."

Although it was my friend's care we should not be diverted from our point by other discourse, I was as mindful of that as he could be; but by the way, I was willing to clear our innocency from jealousies and prejudice, wrongfully suggested to the king against us and our Friends.

In answer to Gilbert Latey.

King. "I will take notice of their case, and care about it, that it shall be called for in council."

George Whitehead. "If there be any objection against us, we pray the king to let us know them, and we hope to give such answers as shall be satisfactory."

The reason of this proposal by George Whitehead was, that we were informed the secretary, Sir L. Jenkins, intended to produce an apology from the sheriffs of Norwich, against the affidavits concerning the gaol and dungeon wherein our Friends were confined; whereupon we attended the council that day, in order to be called in before them, or to hear the result thereof, in our case respecting our said suffering Friends; but we were not called in, nor did we hear of any such apology produced by the secretary, though he was a favourer of our adversary, sheriff Stebbings. It may be supposed, that the king's favourable answers to us, and his confessing their suffering was against law, and promising to take care concerning them, might anticipate and prevent producing any apology against them or their case.

To George Whitehead's last proposal before.

King. "You shall know, I will take care about your business."

George Whitehead. "We gave affidavits to the lord keeper, which we hope were delivered to the king."

King. "Yes, yes; I will take notice of their case, and it shall be called on in council."

Gilbert Latey. "We accept it as a great favour, that we have this admittance to be heard, and pray God to preserve and direct the king," &c.

George Whitehead to the rest of the nobility pres-

ent: "We acknowledge all your civilities and kindness towards us."

George Whitehead to the king as he was withdrawing: "We hope the king will be mindful of our suffering Friends in Norwich."

Howbeit, after so great endeavours and long solicitation, our said suffering Friends were continued prisoners until the next assizes that summer, and then were released; pursuant to the king's promise and instruction, as it was concluded; to the great comfort and relief of them and their afflicted families.

Although with God's assistance, we prevailed with the king for relief in certain extreme cases of suffering, through great labour and solicitation, wherein I was much concerned, in great compassion toward our sorely oppressed Friends; yet hitherto there remained great oppressions and sufferings throughout most counties and cities in England, by divers kinds and sorts of severe prosecutions; insomuch that several of us, namely George Fox, Gilbert Latey, Alexander Parker, Francis Camfield, and myself, were weightily concerned to have a general state of our suffering Friend's case drawn up, by way of address or application, to be presented to the king; in order to make him the more sensible of the great oppressions we still were exposed to. And accordingly, I did then take particular care, to have such an application effectually drawn to Friends' satisfaction.

First, the intent whereof was, to clear our innocency from a plot, that was reported to have been against the king and the duke of York.

Secondly, to make the king sensible of our great and long continued, as well as extreme sufferings, for our religious tender conscience towards Almighty God.

Thirdly, earnestly to move the king for our relief.

This address to the king was headed: "The humble address of the people commonly called Quakers."

After denying any connexion with the plots which had

been unjustly attributed to them, they declared their sense of the duty of obedience to magistrates, in all things not contrary to conscience; and that, when for conscience' sake they could not obey, their principle and practice was to suffer patiently, and not to rebel or seek revenge. It concluded with the following appeal to the justice and humanity of the king.

"Our prayers and supplications are to the Almighty, for thy future safety and peace; and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, thou mayst be thereby obliged to show mercy, and to relieve the oppressed from these unmerited afflictions and persecutions, which a great number of us thy peaceable subjects do even at this day suffer under, in our persons and estates; not only by laws made against, but also by laws never intended against us. And which is more extreme, divers severities of late have been and still are inflicted; for which no colour or pretence of law hath been or can be alleged; several gaols being so filled as that they want air, and many innocent persons are held under extreme distress, without regard to age, sex, or condition; to the loss of some lives already, and apparent hazard of many more; if not to the endangering infection in divers cities and places in this nation. And many houses, shops, barns, and fields are ransacked, and swept of goods, corn, and cattle; tending also to the great discouragement of trade and husbandry, and to the impoverishing of a great number of quiet and industrious people; and that for no other cause but for their religious worship, and the exercise of their tender consciences towards Almighty God that made them, who is the sovereign Lord of all, and king in men's consciences.

"Therefore we humbly intreat thee, O king, in princely justice, Christian charity and compassion, to open our prison doors and take off our bonds; relieve the innocent and oppressed in thy land, that fear God and in conversation truly honour the king; and suffer not the ruin of such as are quiet in the land, nor the

widow and the fatherless, for their peaceable consciences, to lie at the door of a prince professing the tender and compassionate religion of Christ."

This address was presented to king Charles the Second, at Windor castle, the 8th day of the 6th month, called August, 1683, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Camfield, and read distinctly to the king and the duke, in the presence of many more of the nobility, &c. by me.

After I had read it, our ancient Friend Francis Camfield, declared a few words very weightily; reminding him of the mercy of the Great God to him, both in his great deliverances, preservation, and restoration; desiring that as the Almighty had shown mercy and compassion to him, in his afflictions and straits, he would show or extend mercy and compassion to his afflicted people; and withal prayed for the king, according to our supplications hinted in the foregoing application: to which he said: "I thank you."

The king at that time appeared seriously affected with our complaint: and soon after we were told by a great person, that he said to a duke that stood by: "What shall we do for this people? the prisons are filled with them." And that the duke, to divert him from his concern therein, drew him into other discourse.

I have been bowed in spirit under a great weight and concern, with earnest breathing and secret supplication to the Lord to assist me, so often as I have had occasion personally to appear before the king, to make application to him on behalf of my suffering Friends and brethren; and my exercise was the greater, when it was difficult to obtain access or to meet with him; which I have divers times very earnestly laboured for, and also to be admitted to appear before him and his council, to plead their cause. And the Lord our God has made way for me therein, and by his power assisted me, in freely and boldly pleading the cause of the innocent for truth and justice, without being any ways timorous or daunted by the face of the king, princes, or

nobles; and in these services, when the Lord has helped me through them, I have felt great peace and comfort, and his presence was with me, enabling me to speak pertinently, and influencing them to hear attentively: praised be the Lord my God!

But though a little relief was obtained, in particular instances, by these applications to the king; he was too much addicted to pleasure to act firmly or constantly, in regard to what he professed to wish; and his profession of tolerant principles being attributed to a desire to screen popery, his apparent disposition to the toleration of dissenters, excited a hostile feeling on the part of many persons, and probably retarded the course of public opinion in favour of religious liberty; nor was this feeling likely to be diminished by the apprehension, that the king was anxious to extend the prerogative of the crown, and that he had actually done so by the suspension of the laws which particularly affected the Quakers. Whatever might be the cause, certain it is, that the sufferings of Friends had never been more extensive, nor perhaps more severe, than in the two last years of the life of this thoughtless and voluptuous monarch.

George Whitehead gives the following description of the state of the Society at that time.

Being shut out of our meeting-houses for divers years, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and our meetings kept in the streets in all sorts of weather, winter and summer, was a trial and hardship upon us. But that trial was not so great, as to have our estates and livelihoods exposed to ruin by ravenous informers; although it was no small hardship to our persons, to be kept out of doors in the streets, in the great severe and long frost and snow, in the year 1683, for about three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen up, that horses, coaches, and carts, could pass to and

fro upon it, and a street also be erected and stand over it.

And yet in all that hard season, when we were so long kept out in the streets in the bitter cold air, I do not remember that I got any harm or injury thereby, although I frequently attended those our meetings in the streets; wherein I took great and serious notice of the merciful Providence of Almighty God, towards myself and many more of our Friends, who were sharers in the same mercy and preservation in that suffering and exercise; no thanks to our unmerciful persecutors: but to our Heavenly Father be the glory and praise for ever!

We had in those days some opportunities to publish the Truth openly in the streets, and also to make public supplication to God; but more frequently were not permitted, but pulled away by force, and either sent to prison or turned into the meeting-house, and there detained under guard until the meeting was ended in the street. Thus were the ministers and others among us often forcibly interrupted, and scarcely suffered, many times, to declare two or three sentences, without being haled away; however, we saw it our duty, in the fear of the Living God, to keep our meetings, and patiently to wait upon Him; wherein we often enjoyed his presence to our consolation, even in our silent waiting upon Him: being not called to strive or contest with our adversaries, or their servants whom they employed, but in faith and patience to bear all; believing that in due time thereby we should obtain victory. It was often then before me, that the Lamb and his faithful followers should have the victory, which was matter of secret comfort to me many times: glory to his name for ever!

In those days I clearly saw, that the testimony required of us to bear, was not so much in words, declaration, or ministry, as to stand our ground in faith and patience, and to travail in spirit, with secret breathing and earnest supplication unto God to plead our cause; it being his own cause for which we suffered: and

therefore we patiently committed it to Him that judgeth righteously.

In the year before the king's decease, I and divers other Friends were still desirous he should be made sensible what great sufferings were still continued upon our Friends, both by imprisonment and spoil; and our Friend William Mead and others of us, being concerned the king should be at least acquainted and moved thereupon, the same was done; and by the king's authority, direction given to the sheriffs of the counties respectively, throughout England, to return the names and causes of our Friends then prisoners; an account whereof was given to the king, by way of petition and information: a general memorandum whereof follows.

The 15th of the 11th month, 1683, George Whitehead and A. Parker attended the king, to present the general suffering of our Friends, both in prison and out of prison, by way of petition. In the afternoon we met with the king in the long gallery, and presented the petition; which he received, and George Whitehead spake a few words to him on this wise:

"We intreat the king to excuse our importunity, for our extremity is the cause; we pray the king tenderly to consider our suffering condition and afford us relief, accounts being returned from the sheriffs of our Friends in prison," &c.

To which he answered: "Well, well, well."

And perceiving the king then in some haste, George Whitehead told him: "If he pleased, we would acquaint the Lord Sunderland (being secretary of state) more fully with our case, that he might inform the king thereof," &c.

To which the king answered: "Do, do."

But alas! the king's time was but short; he was then near his end, and did not live to relieve us, either by opening the prison doors or removing the great oppressions and severe persecutions we then suffered, and which he left us under; his opportunity being slipped and day over and gone.

I think I was the last Friend that spake to the king, to move him for relief from our sufferings but a few weeks before his end. He left about fifteen hundred of our Friends, both men and women, prisoners; besides their being then eagerly followed and persecuted by wicked informers; and many hundreds under heavy oppression and sufferings, for twenty pounds per mensem, and two-thirds of their estates seized, and great spoil made upon them in many counties and parts of the nation. We were still kept out of our meeting-houses in the streets, both in and about London and divers other places; which persecutions and sufferings were continued upon us for some time after king James the Second came to the throne, and until he was prevailed upon to afford us some relief and liberty. All which we have cause to ascribe principally to the overruling Power and Providence of Almighty God; in whose hands the hearts of kings and princes are: and He can turn them like waters. To Him be the dominion and praise of all for ever!

In the year 1684, George Whitehead being taken at a meeting in White Hart Court, in the act of prayer, was for a short time confined in the prison of Newgate, under an indictment for being engaged "in an unlawful assembly, *riotously and with force of arms!*" The recorder evinced his usual severity; but George Whitehead observes, that some of the magistrates of the city of London were men of more moderation than the recorder; and the sheriff, Sir Samuel Dashwood, soon sent an order to the keepers of Newgate, to discharge him from his imprisonment; which was thus of only about sixteen days' continuance.

He thus expresses himself, on reviewing the sufferings to which he had been exposed in the few previous years.

"I humbly thank the Lord, my Heavenly Father, and praise his worthy name, in remembrance how He enabled me to be resigned to his will, in suffering both

in person and estate; and how well my dear wife was given up to suffer with me, for the blessed Truth's sake, in those days. But the Lord our God supported and comforted us under those trials; as we were with one accord resigned to his will, to bear faithful testimony for his holy name and ever living Truth, which He had made us partakers and witnesses of. Blessed be his glorious Name for evermore!"

SECTION XVI.

Suffering state of the Society at the death of Charles II.—Representation of it by an interview with king James II. and address to him.—List of the sufferers—Second interview with the king, and full representation of the Quakers' case addressed to him and to the parliament—The king grants a general warrant for the release of the prisoners.—Commission granted on George Whitehead's application to the king to inquire into the dishonest practices of the informers—Their suppression—One of them in distress applies to George Whitehead, and is relieved by him.

The period of the death of Charles the Second, appears to have been the extreme point of suffering to the Society of Friends. Notwithstanding his character for good nature, and the frequent expression of his intention to relieve them, they were persecuted to a great extent, under the laws made against Papists in the reign of Elizabeth; whilst the immediate objects of those statutes were, under the king's favour, enjoying comparative liberty. Probably the worshippers of UNIFORMITY would not have been satisfied without some victims for their idol; and it was no doubt more agreeable to the king to sacrifice the poor nonconforming protestants, than to allow the insane fury of the people to fall upon his immediate friends.

The prisons of England were crowded with honest and industrious people, whose only crime was a tender conscience, and against whom it might truly be said, that no *occasion was found, except concerning the law of their God.*

No less than FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY of the people called Quakers were at this time in the prisons of England and Wales, in many places crowded together without respect to age, sex, or circumstance, in cold and filthy holes and dungeons, where many had died, and faithfully earned the crown of martyrdom.

Not a few of these were fathers and mothers of families, which were thus left destitute of their natural guardians and protectors: indeed it is difficult to say whether the suffering within the walls of the prisons, intense as it was, was not exceeded by that endured by the numerous relatives and friends of the prisoners. The cruel separations of husbands from wives, and fathers and mothers from their children, were generally preceded or accompanied by robbery and spoil, and not unfrequently the entire ruin of the family as regarded their means of outward support. The true order of government was directly inverted, governors being a terror to those who did *well* rather than to those who did *ill*.

Apologizing to the reader for these introductory observations to the present chapter, I proceed to give the substance of George Whitehead's account of his own and his friends' proceedings, immediately after the accession of James the Second to the English crown.

Much fear was now entertained as to what would become of protestant dissenters, many anticipating an increase of persecution, under the government of a professed papist. George Whitehead however, whose elastic mind never seemed to sink, had a lively impression which he communicated to his friends, that they should have ease under this king's reign;—and certainly he spared no pains to bring it about.

A few weeks after the death of Charles, he presented to his successor, in company with Gilbert Latey and Alexander Parker, the following truly courteous but unflattering address.*

"To King James the Second.

The humble Application of the people called Quakers.

"Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, by whom

* Echard in his history has given a very different but altogether spurious address to the King. The object of the composition appears to have been to place the Quakers in a ridiculous light.

kings reign, to take hence the late king Charles the Second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed, we thy subjects heartily desire, that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy, in the use of thy great power, to His glory, the king's honour and the kingdom's good. And it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, by the assistance of Almighty God, to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the king's government, and a conscientious people, that truly fear and serve God, we do humbly hope, that the king's tenderness will appear, and extend with his power, to express the same; recommending to his princely clemency, the case of our present suffering Friends hereunto annexed."

The case of the suffering Friends referred to in the petition, contains so simple and affecting an account of their situation that it is well worthy of perusal.

"*The distressed case and request of the suffering people commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.*

Showing,

"That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the said people, both men and women, are continued prisoners, in England and Wales, only for tender conscience toward Almighty God that made them.* Many under sentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refusing the duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear; others under fines on the act for banishment; many on

* The following list of the number of prisoners in each county is curious, as showing the wide spread of the society at this time throughout England and Wales. We have no means of ascertaining the total number, but large as it no doubt was, the number of *sufferers*, including the families of the prisoners and those who suffered the spoil of their goods, must have formed a large and affecting proportion of the whole Society. No doubt also, such was the

writs of excommunication; besides some hundreds have died prisoners, many by means of this long imprisonment since the year 1680, as it is judged; thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families desolate, in distress and sorrow. These two hard winters' confinement tending also to the destruction of many in cold holes and gaols, their healths being greatly impaired thereby: besides, the violence and woful spoil made by merciless informers, on the conventicle act, upon many convicted, unsummoned, and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country. As also on Qui Tam writs, and other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king; all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and industrious families; to some not a bed left, to

sympathy as well as courage of this branch of the Church of Christ at that day, that it might be almost said: "Whether one member suffered, all the members suffered with it."

An account of the number of the said prisoners called Quakers, in the several counties.

Bedfordshire	30	Leicestershire	37
Berkshire	37	Lincolnshire	12
Bristol	103	London and Middlesex	66
Buckinghamshire	19	Norfolk	52
Cambridgeshire	8	Northamptonshire	59
Ely	11	Nottinghamshire	6
Cheshire	9	Oxon	17
Cornwall	32	Salop	18
Cumberland	22	Somersetshire	36
Derbyshire	1	Southamptonshire	15
Devonshire	104	Staffordshire	1
Dorsetshire	13	Suffolk	79
Durham	39	Surrey	29
Essex	10	Sussex	17
Gloucestershire	66	Warwickshire	31
Hertfordshire	18	Westmoreland	5
Herefordshire	1	Wilts	34
Huntingdonshire	10	Worcestershire	15
Kent	16	Yorkshire	279
Lancashire	73	Wales	30
	TOTAL	1460.	

others no cattle to till their ground, or give them milk, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal. And all these, and other severities done under pretence of *serving the king and the Church*, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter. And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we the said people do solemnly profess and declare, in the sight of the Heart Searcher, that we have nothing but good will and true affection to the king, praying for his safety, and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, as being wholly contrary to our Christian principles and holy profession.

"And knowing that where the word of a king is, there is power, we in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, intreat that the king will please to find out some expedient for our relief in these cases, from prison, spoil, and ruin.

"And we shall, as in Christian duty bound, pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happiness in that which is to come.

"London, 2nd of 1st month, called March, 1684–5."

Between three and four months after the first interview, no relief being yet obtained, George Whitehead was "deeply concerned in Spirit" to go to the king, to give him further information, and to endeavour to persuade him to put a stop to the ruinous persecutions. Acquainting his Friend Robert Barclay with his intentions, (for whom the king had a particular respect, having known him in Scotland,) he was willing to unite in the application; and they appear to have readily obtained admittance into the king's presence.

George Whitehead took the principal part in this interview; from his account of which I select the following passages:

George Whitehead. "We thankfully acknowledge

the king's favour in granting us this admittance. Having acquainted the Lord Peterborough with our great sufferings by informers, &c. in and about London, he promised us to acquaint the king therewith; which we hope he did, for he said, 'he had acquainted the king with our desire, that he would speak to the recorder, that a stop might be put to the informers,' &c. And further told us, 'that the king promised to send for the recorder, and speak to him himself, and that we should shortly feel the effects.'"

King. "The Lord Peterborough did speak to me, and acquainted me with it: I have not as yet spoken to the recorder, but intend to speak to him to-morrow; I'll send for him into the prince's lodgings, and speak with him about it: therefore do you put me in mind of it, when I go into the House of Lords to-morrow."

George Whitehead. "The late king, after his coronation, gave out his Proclamation of Grace, to release our Friends out of the gaols throughout England; upon which many hundreds were released.

"And in the year 1672, the late king gave out his Declaration of Indulgence, for the liberty of tender consciences; and his Letters Patent, (or pardon,) under the great seal, to release our Friends out of prisons: whereupon we had liberty for some years."

King. "I intended a general coronation pardon; but the reason why it was deferred until the meeting of parliament, was, because some persons who are obnoxious, by being in the late plot, would thereby have been pardoned, and so might have come to sit in parliament; which would not have been safe. But I intend that your Friends shall be discharged out of prison. I was the cause of drawing up that Declaration, and I never gave my consent to the making of it void: it was the Presbyterians who caused it to be made void or cancelled in parliament."

George Whitehead. "The imprisonments, as also the great spoil made by informers, is still very hard upon many in and about London, and other parts: five war-

rants at once have been executed upon one person, amounting to fifty pounds, being ten pounds a warrant. We intreat the king to put a stop to these informers; for many are greatly disabled by them, and about giving over their trades and shops; although we are as willing to pay our taxes and civil duties to the king as any other people. And by the close imprisonment of many, even here in London, in Newgate gaol, divers of our Friends have been so suffocated, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and in a few days died.

King. "I intend your Friends shall be released out of prison; and I'll consider of a way how to stop the informers: but they having a part of the fines, I must consider which way I may best take to stop them and ease you:" or to the very same effect.

George Whitehead. "We have just exceptions against the Conventicle Act itself, in divers clauses."

Robert Barclay. "Convicting men behind their backs is contrary to the law of nations."

George Whitehead. "And then the awarding treble costs against the appellant, in case he is cast in the trial of his appeal, but no costs against the informers, nor any provision made that they shall make any restitution to the party grieved, in case they be cast or nonsuit in their unjust persecution; this appears very unequal.

"We are inclinable to present an account of our sufferings to the parliament, wherein we desire the king's favourable concurrence, and therefore thought meet to acquaint the king first with our intention; for we are willing and desirous that he should be acquainted with all public applications we make to the parliament."

King. "What is it?"

George Whitehead. "It is a plain account of our sufferings in matters of fact, of the same kind with that which we lately gave to the king, with some reasons offered for the repeal of the Conventicle act."

King. "Let me see it, and I'll give you my opinion concerning it."

George Whitehead. "We intend to show it the king. And we humbly and thankfully acknowledge the king's favour, in admitting us thus far to be heard."

The account alluded to in the foregoing conversation, was addressed: "To the king and both houses of parliament, the suffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God, humbly presented."

It stated: "That of late above one thousand five hundred of the said people, both men and women, having been detained prisoners in England, and part of them in Wales, some of which being since discharged by the judges, and others freed by death through their long and tedious imprisonment, there are now remaining, according to late accounts, about one thousand three hundred eighty and three, above two hundred of them women."

It then proceeded to state the grounds and nature of the sufferings, much in the same manner as had been done in the account presented to the king immediately after his accession;* and after enumerating the particular statutes under which they chiefly suffered,† the document proceeds as follows:

"Many, both men and women, have been fined, im-

* The list of sufferers is given at page 84, as a note.

† The 5th of Eliz. chap. 23, De Excommunicatio Capiendo.

The 23rd of Eliz. chap. 1, for Twenty Pounds per Month.

The 29th of Eliz. chap. 6, for Continuation.

The 35th of Eliz. chap. 1, for Abjuring the Realm, on pain of Death.

The 1st of Eliz. chap. 2, for Twelve-Pence a Sunday.

The 3rd of king James I. chap. 4, for Premunire, Imprisonment during Life, and Estates confiscated.

The 13th and 14th of king Charles II. against Quakers, &c. Transportation.

The 22nd of King Charles II. chap. 1, against Seditious Conventicles.

The 17th of king Charles II, chap. 2, against Nonconformists.

The 27th of Henry VIII. ch. 20, some few suffer thereupon.

prisoned, and detained for non-payment, some till death, on indictments at common law, for riots, breaches of the peace, &c.; instance the city of Bristol, what a great number have been these divers years straitly confined and crowded in gaol, mostly above one hundred on such pretence, about seventy of them women, many aged. And in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682–3, about seventy kept in hold, forty-five whereof in holes and dungeons, for many weeks together; and great hardships have been and are in other places: so that such our peaceable meetings are sometimes fined on the Conventicle act, as for a religious exercise, and other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c. when nothing of that nature could ever be proved against them, there being nothing of violence or injury either done, threatened, or intended, against the person or property of any one whatsoever.

"The during and tedious imprisonments are chiefly on the writs De Excommunicatio Capiendo, upon the judgment of premunire, and upon fines said to be for the king.

"The great spoil and excessive distresses and seizures, are chiefly upon the Conventicle act, and for twenty pounds a month, two-thirds of estates, and on Qui Tam writs. In some counties, divers have suffered by seizures and distresses above eight years past; and writs lately issued out for further seizures in several counties, for twenty pounds a month, amounting to the value of many thousands of pounds; sometimes seizing for eleven months at once, and making sale of all goods and chattels, within doors and without, both of household goods, beds, shop goods, moveables, cattle, &c. and prosecution hereupon still continued, and in divers counties much increased: so that several, who have long employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid considerable taxes to the king, are greatly disabled from both, by these writs and seizures as well as by long imprisonments. So many serge

makers, of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred poor people at work, disabled by imprisonment: many in the county of Suffolk, under a long imprisonment, sentenced to a premunire; one whereof employed at least two hundred poor people in the woollen manufacture, when at liberty. Omitting other instances, that we may not seem too tedious, these may evince how destructive such severities are to trade and industry, and ruinous to many poor families.

"Be pleased to make our case your own, and do to us as you would be done unto: as you would not be oppressed or destroyed in your persons or estates, nor have your properties invaded and posterities ruined, for serving and worshipping Almighty God, that made all mankind, according to your persuasions and consciences, but would, no doubt, enjoy the liberty thereof; so we entreat you to allow the same liberty to tender consciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourselves; and to disannul the said Conventicle act, and to stop these devouring informers, and also take away all sanguinary laws, corporal and pecuniary punishments, merely on the score of religion and conscience; and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherless, and innocent families lie upon this nation, nor at your door; who have not only a great trust reposed in you, for the prosperity and good of the whole nation, but also do profess Christianity and the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Having thus given you in short, the general state of our suffering case, in matter of fact, without personal reflection; we, in Christian humility and for Christ's sake, intreat that you will tenderly and charitably consider of the premises, and find out some effectual expedient or way for our relief from prisons, spoil, and ruin."

George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey waited upon the king, previous to their presenting the address to the parliament, to receive his sanction; which he freely

gave :* and having now become fully acquainted with the severe persecution under which the Society laboured, he was pleased, says the narrative, "to grant a comprehensive warrant or commission to the then attorney general, Sir Robert Sawyer, on our suffering Friends' behalf; including the several sorts of processes and convictions under which many of them suffered."† This order was dated 15th of March, 1685–6, little more than a year after the king's accession.

George Whitehead gives the following account of the proceedings to carry into effect this joyful release.

When this warrant was granted and delivered to us, the attorney general, Sir Robert Sawyer, was not in London, but near forty miles from thence, at his country house at Highcleare, in Hampshire; and Friends in London being very desirous that our Friends in the several prisons throughout England, &c. might forthwith be released: it was concluded that two or three of us should take a journey to the said attorney general, and deliver him the aforesaid warrant from the king; and then in the first place, to obtain a warrant or liberate thereupon, to discharge and release our Friends in and about London.

John Edge, Rowland Vaughan, and myself were desired forthwith to undertake the journey to the attorney general, for that service. At that time I was but weakly in body, and so much indisposed as to my health, that I thought myself very unfit for that journey, for I then kept my chamber; howbeit, they not being willing to go without me, I was in the greater strait, and after a short consideration was persuaded, and concluded to

* Gough thinks the sudden prorogation of parliament prevented the address from being presented to it.

† Sewel, without referring to this special order for the discharge of the Quakers, attributes their relief to a proclamation of pardon, issued soon after the king ascended the throne; yet he quotes G. Fox's letter on the occasion, addressed to Friends, and which is dated four months after the commission to the attorney general.

go with them if possibly I might be enabled to perform the journey.

Whereupon my dear friend Theodore Ecclestone lent me a good easy horse, and I being weakly, we were part of two days and the morning following before we reached to the attorney general's, who civilly received and entertained us, when we had produced the king's commission to him; and we quickly persuaded him to give instructions to our then companion Rowland Vaughan, to draw up a warrant or liberate to release our Friends, who then were prisoners in London. And according to his instructions, Rowland drew up several warrants to discharge our Friends out of prison, which the attorney general signed that day; and to get them done he would have us stay dinner, so it was the third or near the fourth hour before we could get all done and signed, to come away thence; insomuch that it was within night before we got to Theal, about four miles beyond Reading, where we staid at an inn that night, and the next day came to Brentford; before which time I was recovered in my journey, and was so well that I could travel much better than when I left London; wherein I thankfully observed the merciful Providence of God, in affording me health and ability beyond expectation.

In a short time the attorney general returned to London, to his office in the temple, where I attended him (with Gilbert Latey sometimes) to sign the rest of the warrants; which according to his direction, Rowland Vaughan prepared for him to sign, to discharge the rest of our Friends out of prisons throughout England, so far as he had power given him by the commission aforesaid. This took us up considerable time to attend to and see effected, and the prisoners by degrees released; for we had something to do to obtain the warrants for release of our Friends in some places, especially at Bristol; the town clerk having detained our Friends there in prison for non-payment of his demands: which occasioned our complaint against him

to the king; and on my debating the matter with him before the attorney general, he was persuaded to submit the matter to our Friends' courtesy and freedom, and was desirous that I would let him have the attorney general's warrant to discharge our Friends when he returned to Bristol; and accordingly I intrusted him with the warrant; whereupon he got them released out of prison.

Thus, though many had died in confinement, were a great number of worthy confessors for the Truth, liberated from their severe imprisonment of ten, twelve, and fifteen years; and permitted to return to the bosom of their families and the Church.

Great however as was the ease, the sufferings of the Society were by no means at an end. The clergy in general appeared decidedly unfriendly to toleration, and a great number of magistrates, especially in London and Middlesex, encouraged a set of vile informers, to whom the poor Quakers were a constant prey. George Whitehead now exerted himself earnestly, to induce the king to put a stop to the proceedings of these merciless creatures.

His exertions in this business were very successful. He inserts in his memoirs a petition to king James, which was signed by several of the sufferers, stating the cruelty and illegality of the proceedings against them; that they were frequently convicted "in their absence, and often on false depositions sworn by concealed informers"—that warrants against them were issued out by the recorder of London, "which were executed with great rigour and spoil, and without compassion to widows, fatherless, or poor families, who were sustained by their daily industry; not leaving them a bed to lie on:" that when they appealed from the recorder's judgment, he being judge also on the trial, altered the record, and urged juries to find against the appellant; by which they incurred heavy charges and treble costs. Besides these grievances, the petition

stated, "that numbers were imprisoned and crowded in gaol by him and others, for the same cause, to the greatly impairing of their healths and the loss of some lives."

After this complaint had been presented, George Whitehead addressed the king, requesting him to appoint commissioners to hear them and the informers face to face, that they might have a fair opportunity to prove the matters of fact complained of against them. The king granted this request, and issued a commission accordingly, which was delivered to George Whitehead without fees. He, and some of his friends, prosecuted this matter very efficiently. They delivered the commission to two persons who had been nominated as the investigators of the affair, and who authorized George Whitehead to issue summonses to all persons whom he wished to be brought before them. Having collected and fairly stated about fifty cases of unjust proceedings on the part of the informers towards Friends, he accordingly issued his summonses to the several parties.

On the day appointed, a great company of informers were collected at Clifford's Inn, doubtless under feelings of no little chagrin; but when they saw a large number of the usual objects of their prey, coming forward to charge them with injustice and cruelty, before commissioners who would give an impartial hearing to both parties, they seemed ready "to *gnash* upon them with their teeth."

Two justices of the peace, who had incurred the high displeasure of the informers, by refusing to grant warrants against some Friends, or to convict them in their absence, were present at the inquiry, at the first meeting of the commissioners.

George Whitehead proceeded very methodically in his charges, beginning with those cases in which informers had sworn falsely, producing each Friend's case in order, and calling upon the parties concerned in each to appear together. Numerous cases were fully esta-

blished, in which the informers had sworn against Friends for being at meetings which they were not at; also for holding meetings at certain places and houses, where no meetings had been held; and they were also proved to have sworn upon trust, from one another's false and presumptuous information. These several cases of false swearing, occupied six *broadsides;* and there were numerous cases of excessive distraints, accompanied by force and violence. So many instances indeed, says George Whitehead, "we gave to the commissioners on the first day, of the horrid abuses of the informers, that they seemed almost weary with hearing them; matters of fact being evidently proved against the informers to their faces, and to their great shame and confusion." At the first meeting they did not get through one-fourth of the charges; and a subsequent meeting was held, at which, though they did not get through half the cases, the commissioners thought they had ample grounds on which to form their report to the king. George Whitehead wished them, seeing the charges of false swearing and violence had been so fully proved against the informers, to discourage or stop their further proceedings; but this the commissioners thought was without their province.

The informers were of course greatly enraged against George Whitehead; and they so threatened him, that some of his friends were afraid of their doing him a mischief. He was however no way intimidated: "I told them," says he, "that I feared them not; nor what they could do; for I was bound in conscience to make them manifest to the government: they should not deter me, by their threats, from appearing before the highest authority against them."

George Whitehead had several interviews with the commissioners, in which he laid before them the cases which had not been inquired into. On one of these interviews they showed him, at his request, the draft of their report; when he was surprised to find, that instead of stating the plain matters of fact, in regard to

which they had to inquire, they had given their opinion *as to an easier way of dealing with the Quakers in future.* George Whitehead remonstrated with them, for thus deviating from the points on which they were directed to report to the king; when "one of the commissioners told him how hardly they were put to it to draw up their report, being sent to out of London, by some great person or persons of the Church, and much requested to report nothing which might disable the informers, or put them by from their great service to the Church!" George Whitehead however pleaded for justice being done to them, by a report as to matters of fact being made to the king; and the commissioners did materially amend their report in consequence.

Some further information was given to the king relative to the cases, in a letter; in which, having referred to the mal-practices of the informers, as stated in the report of the commissioners, the Friends concluded by earnestly entreating the king to put a speedy stop to the cruel proceedings against them. Our author, with all his coolness and moderation, seems unable to repress the feelings of his virtuous indignation, against the system of plunder allowed to be carried on under pretence of law, by the informers. "A company," says he, "of loose, irreligious, profligate wretches, have been encouraged and suffered to plunder, rob, steal, break houses, commit burglary, tear away and make havoc and spoil of their neighbours' goods, to serve the Church and King! What Protestant age or church can parallel such barbarities and cruel persecution? How scandalous to church and state were such agents!"

The scandal however was on the eve of being removed. Whether the king was sincere or not, in his professions in regard to liberty of conscience, Divine Providence was pleased so to overrule events, as tended to the ease of the suffering members of Christ's Church, who dissented from the established worship. "The king," says the memoir, "was at last induced so far to afford us relief from those devourers, by signifying his

pleasure to some of his subordinate ministers, magistrates, &c. to put a stop to the destructive persecution and spoil, made upon us by the informers." "Their unjust trade and gain being discountenanced by the justices and the quarter sessions, in London and Middlesex, as well as other parts of the kingdom, and discoveries made of their wickedness and injuries, some of them were forced to fly; and others turned to beggary."

As during the severe sufferings which they had been called to endure for conscience' sake, the Friends had exhibited a remarkable instance of Christian patience; so also, when their enemies, the mercenary informers, became destitute, did they exhibit a no less striking instance of Christian forgiveness.

The Friends, though they had been so severely impoverished by the proceedings of the informers, did not hesitate to supply the wants of these worthless creatures in their destitution. George Whitehead gives an instance of this kind in his own case. "After the trade of informing was over," says he, "George Hilton, a notorious informer, came to my house, complaining to me that he was to be a servant to a great person, but wanted clothes, or money to buy him some; whereupon I gave him something, being willing to render good against evil; he having been a very injurious adversary against myself, and many others of our Friends; however, I was comforted that the case was so well altered, as that from taking away our goods by force, these poor wretches were fain to come and beg of us." Thus did these Christians heap the coals of charity upon the heads of their enemies.

SECTION XVII.

The state of Society in other parts of the nation.—Two meeting houses seized and used by the soldiers.—Application to king James respecting this and other cases of suffering.

The suppression of the wicked trade of the informers, though a very important step, was far from closing the sufferings of the Society, or the labours of many of its members, to obtain complete liberty of conscience. They wisely proceeded step by step in pointing out their grievances, and pressing them one after another upon the notice of the public, and of the highest authorities of the land.

Though the general pardon of the king had some effect in discouraging persecution, yet it did not alter the law; and a great number of Friends were at this time severely oppressed, and many of them greatly impoverished, by being charged or estreated in the exchequer, and by writs annually issued out thence against them, for seizure to be made on their goods and estates, under the old act against popish recusants; by which they were fined *twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of their estates*, for their monthly absence from their parish churches; and thereupon their corn, cattle, and other goods were seized by the bailiffs; "seizing," says the memoir, "for eleven months, twenty pounds a month, which amounts to two hundred and twenty pounds forfeiture in that time; the sottish, rude bailiffs, when they had seized on farmers' goods, remaining at their houses, eating and drinking until the goods were removed."

From the continued application of these cruel laws to the poor Quakers, who were the very *antipodes* of the Papists against whom they were originally made, it is quite evident that the spirit of persecution was still

strong in the country. King James however, who had sheltered the real objects of this law, even more effectually than his brother had done, on being applied to by some Friends for a stay of proceedings, found it at least consist with his policy to grant the request; and "was pleased to give directions to the lord treasurer and attorney general, that the exchequer writs should not be issued out on that occasion." A respectful petition was then drawn up, addressed to the lord treasurer, praying that he would issue his warrant to the proper officer, the clerk of the pipe, for the staying of processes against the persons named in a list subjoined, who were under exchequer prosecution, and whose number amounted to several hundreds. The lord treasurer immediately granted the requisite order; and George Whitehead gives the following account of the subsequent proceedings.*

I was very industriously concerned, to obtain such a warrant for a speedy stop to be put to the said processes, which were then ready to be issued forth of the said pipe office in Grays-Inn. I had something to do, first with the treasurer's deputy, and clerks of the treasury chamber, about their high demands of fees, which we could not answer: whereupon I made complaint to the lord treasurer himself; and he was so kind, as to cause them considerably to abate their demands, and to accept of what we could give; I remember our friend Samuel Waldenfield kept me company at that time; so the warrant was delivered to me.

After this, Rowland Vaughan went with me to the clerks of the pipe, with our warrant to stay process, who seeing a long list of names annexed to the war-

* The proceedings in this and many similar cases related in this work, strikingly illustrate, by contrasting them with the present state of things, the progress which has been made in the administration of justice, the establishment of the constitutional rights of the people, and the diminution or more careful exercise of the royal prerogative. *Editor.*

rant, were upon very high demands for fees, amounting to many hundred pounds, they demanding a considerable fee for each, which we could no ways come near. They were very huffing and high toward us, though we civilly treated them, threatening if we did not pay them the fees demanded, that the writs should be issued out to the sheriffs of the several counties, to seize upon our Friends' estates; and to be sure it would be done to purpose, for, say they, this was like to be the last time, seeing process was to be stopped; so that if the writs then went forth, they concluded they would be the more severely executed, and fall heavier upon the convicted than ever. Such like threats were to affright us into a compliance with their unreasonable demands of fees: which we neither would nor could do; whereupon we parted at that time.

Being much toiled, weakened, and impaired in my health, by attending, soliciting, and labouring for our Friends' relief in that case, I was taken suddenly ill, so that I was forced to keep house a few days; yet still the burden of Friends' sufferings lay so heavy upon my spirit, and care to have them relieved by a stay to the said process, that I forthwith sent to divers Friends, to let them know how the case stood with me, and how far I had procured and brought forward the case of our suffering Friends, in order to their relief from the exchequer process; particularly I sent for my companion Gilbert Latey, at Kingston, who quickly came to London; and I acquainted him and our loving friend William Mead, how our case stood as to the clerks of the pipe refusing to stay the process unless they had the fees they demanded; whereupon I desired the said Gilbert Latey and William Mead to go and treat with those clerks, and see what they could bring them to. At last they brought them so far to abate their demands, as to come down to those Friends' terms, and accept of what they proffered, that is, about sixty pounds, instead of the many hundreds demanded; though it was not without complaining that they were

so much deprived of what they esteemed their proper fees and dues.

That stay of proceedings, obtained with great care and industry, prevented the ruin of some hundreds of our suffering Friends in their respective counties, and saved many thousands of pounds in their estates. I had great peace and comfort in the Lord, in that He made me any way useful in helping our Friends from those heavy persecutions and oppressions; blessed be the Lord my God! who greatly helped me to serve Him in helping his people.

Another case of hardship and suffering, which befel the Society, in regard to two of their meeting houses, next engaged the attention of this unwearied advocate. It is thus stated in the memoirs:

About the 3rd month, 1685, the soldiers came and made the meeting house at the Park, in Southwark, a guard-house, and did great spoil and damage about and in the same, by pulling down pales, digging and cutting down trees, carrying away and burning them; and also the wainscoting and benches about the room, and they carried away one of the out-doors, and many of the casements; and when the soldiers drew out to the camp, they left the house open for any body. Whereupon John Potter, the then owner, entered again, and made up the outward door, and some other necessary repairs, and had a survey of the damages done, which amounted to about forty pounds.

The soldiers returning from the camp, again possessed themselves of the place, and kept their guard therein for some time, in manner following; viz. on the 22nd of October 1686, a quarter-master belonging to colonel Hailes' regiment, came to the chambers of the said John Potter's tenants, and demanded entrance; which being denied, the quarter-master, with the help of soldiers, broke in, handed away their goods, and turned out three aged women to another house; and when they had taken possession of our said meeting house

and rooms below, they pulled down the galleries, and made a brick wall across the lower room, with many other alterations, as if they intended to have the sole and perpetual possession to themselves; having made a sort of place for prayers, or a mass house, in one end, inclosed from the rest by the said partition wall; notwithstanding the said John Potter, the owner, showed his lease and title to the premises several times to the said colonel, and his quarter master; by which they understanding his right and title, the colonel asked him if he would sell, and what he would have for it. But that he could not yield to, knowing what other use the lease was intended and used for; the low room being our meeting place, he could not in good conscience shut his Friends out of the same.

But being by force kept out of our meeting house and property, as before related, we had no other way to have the same restored, but by application to the king; and also for our meeting place at the Savoy, in the Strand. Whereupon myself and my friend Gilbert Latey were desired to attend the king; unto which we gave up, I being prepared to vindicate our property, especially in our meeting house at Park aforesaid. When we had sent notice to the king of our desire to attend him in this case, and that he would please to appoint the time when, he granted our request therein.

On the 1st of the 10th month, 1686, Gilbert Latey and myself went to Whitehall, and attended some time when we had sent word up to the king of our waiting for admittance. After some time he came down to us, and the said colonel Hailes only with him.

After I had a little introduced and opened our case to him, how our said meeting house at Park was detained from us, I found that he had been misinformed and prepossessed; as if that meeting house and others were forfeited to him on the Conventicle act. I presently showed him the mistake; for by that act the owners' houses where meetings were held, were not forfeited, but they fineable; the penalty was fines, not forfeiture

of houses; and yet, as I told him, I hoped he would not take advantage against us upon that act, seeing he had intimated his opinion was for liberty of conscience, from persecution.

He farther alleged, that John Potter had given his consent to part with the said house for a compensation; as also the colonel affirmed, having given the king in his hand the notes he had taken out of John's lease, showing the conveyance of the title from one to another, till it was settled on John Potter. But the king told me, (as the colonel had informed him,) that since John had assented to part with the said meeting house for a compensation, we had had a meeting about it, and that our Friends had persuaded John not to sell it.

To all which I gave answer, that John Potter never appeared of that mind to us, as to sell it. I farther told him, that divers of our meeting houses in London were seized, and the broad arrow set upon the doors, pretendedly for the king, in the reign of king Charles the Second, and particularly our meeting house in Grace-church street; where the mayor, &c. encouraged a priest of the Church of England, to read their mass or liturgy and to preach; which was such a wonder that a priest should come and read Common Prayer and preach in a Quakers' meeting, that people did so numerously gather and crowd into and about the meeting, that afterward at another meeting, the priest came to be so affrighted with their crowding and noise, that he got away and forbore coming again to read or preach in our meeting house.

The king smiled at my mentioning their mass, because I presume he understood that the book of Common Prayer was much of it taken out of his mass book.

Having taken notes out of our Friends' lease of the said meeting house at Park, I demonstrated the title, and pleaded the property against the said colonel Hailes's pretensions or claim to it.

After pretty much discourse upon this matter, the king several times gave this answer: "I am resolved to

invade no man's property or conscience." And he told us, that he would look further into the title and inform himself, but that at present he could not spare the place because of his guards.

Our friend Gilbert Latey spake also to the king about the Savoy meeting house; our Friends being there kept out in a cold yard, for many weeks, by the guards. Whereupon Gilbert requested the king to grant our Friends their liberty to meet twice a week; it being winter time, and hard for ancient people to stand abroad in the cold. The king did not refuse his request, but was pleased to delay it for a time, for further consideration.

However our solicitous endeavours in God's power and counsel, took such effect upon the king, that in a few weeks after, he caused both our meeting houses aforesaid, viz. at Park and Savoy, to be restored to us.

Before we parted from the king that time, I mentioned to him our Friends' great sufferings in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, by Smith the informer, and two or three petty justices that took his part; and I entreated two or three lines from the lord Sunderland to the duke of Newcastle, to put a stop to the said informer. The king freely granted my request, and two or three times promised to speak to the lord Sunderland, to write to the duke of Newcastle for the same purpose. After which one of the lords of the council, at my desire, undertook to procure a letter forthwith, from the earl of Sunderland, pursuant to the king's promise before mentioned. Our Friends, and John Edge also, were concerned to attend the result thereof; insomuch that through the power and help of the Lord our God, in our endeavours, a general stop to those persecuting devourers, the informers, was obtained, to the great comfort and relief of our suffering Friends throughout the nation; whom I was greatly comforted in serving to the utmost of my ability.

George Whitehead now felt himself concerned to visit

the king, to encourage him in the good work he had begun in regard to liberty of conscience, and to intimate the good effects which he apprehended had arisen from it. He also wished to lay before him some cases of suffering at Leeds in Yorkshire; and he and Gilbert Latey obtained admittance into the king's presence, on the 14th of 10th month, 1687. The king appeared glad to see them, and the substance of their discourse was as follows.

George Whitehead. "We are glad to see the king, and heartily wish the king health and happiness and a happy and prosperous reign, and that his government may be easy to him in all respects, that is, to himself and the people."

King. "I thank you; and for your parts, I believe well of you and your Friends, and that you do wish me well."

George Whitehead. "I desired to have attended the king some time since, but that a long journey this summer into the north parts of England, and some sickness since, prevented. We have daily cause to bless God for the mercy we enjoy under the king, as being made instrumental in the hand of God therein, and daily to pray for the king's preservation.

"In this late journey I have been as far as Cumberland, and other parts of the north of England, and find the good effects of the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, and how well it is received by all good people, by all who are sober, moderate, and rational."

King. "It is well received by all good Christians I am sure."

George Whitehead. "And I find persons of understanding and quality, do commend the king's prudence and conduct therein. And many innocent families, who have been sorely distressed by the late persecutions and hardships they have been long under, have received such relief through the king's clemency, that they find cause daily to pray for the king; and to him may justly apply the words of that just man Job, in this case, re-

specting the justness of his proceeding, and to say of the king: 'Thou hast broken the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.' *Job* xxix. 17. And farther, that by thy declaration for liberty of conscience, thou hast yielded submission to the great God, and granted and given to Him his due therein, namely, that God may rule and bear sway in men's consciences, whose sovereign right it is to reign and bear rule therein: 'And when the Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice; and when the evil beasts of prey are made to cease out of the land, the earth shall yield her increase:' according as God's holy prophets have testified."

King. "It is very true."

George Whitehead. "Let liberty of conscience be vindicated or maintained, and the good effects thereof will appear more and more," &c.

King. "I am resolved to maintain it as long as I live, and make it as firm as a magna charta, and more firm, if possible; that it may remain for the benefit of future ages, and that posterity may not have cause to alter it."

George Whitehead. "Whenever the king shall please to call a parliament, we do heartily wish it may be such a parliament as may concur with the king's clemency, according to his declaration for liberty of conscience, and confirm it by a law;* and for our parts, I hope we shall contribute our endeavours, so far as argument and reason will go, or may prevail, to persuade them to confirm it and give it the sanction of law, and repeal those penal laws which are against that liberty."

King. "You have a right to election of members of parliament: I would have your Friends to have a care, that they do not give their voices for such that are against liberty of conscience."

George Whitehead. "It concerns us all to have a

* This was on occasion of something spoken by the king, in a former discourse to the same purpose.

care of that; it is certain there can be no free parliament, upon a general and free election, whilst the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and tests, are made the qualifications of all members of parliament; for such qualifications admit none to be members of parliament, but such as are strict Churchmen for conformity. Whereas a mixt or more equally chosen parliament, are most likely to consider all interests, and to establish liberty of conscience; which those penal laws allow not."

King. "Those laws and qualifications are against property, and destructive to it," &c.

George Whitehead. "By a mixed parliament I meant, consisting of Dissenters and of such Churchmen as are against persecution; as the grand jury at Hertford assizes, who stopped all the presentments against dissenters for twenty pounds a month, some time before the king's declaration for liberty of conscience came forth. This mixed grand jury appeared a fit instance or example, as I thought, in this case relating to a free parliament," &c.

King. "You know when I was duke of York, how envious many were against me, and how monstrously they pictured me in their pamphlets, to render me odious to the nation, and what a dangerous successor I should be, &c.; but in point of Christianity, I freely forgive them all."

George Whitehead. "That is a great point of Christianity and charity indeed, freely to forgive injuries, and is generous and noble; and I am truly glad to hear so much from the king. It is true the duke of York was such a formidable person in the thoughts of many, that they greatly feared and were jealous of his succeeding: but now, since come to the crown, he has given such open demonstration of his clemency and good will to the people, as has convinced many of their mistake therein, and given them cause to lay aside their former fears and jealousies of that kind."

King. "I was always of the same judgment for li-

berty of conscience, that now I have declared publicly. I remember when, about twenty years ago or above, I was at Tunbridge, though I never drank the waters, there was one Owen, John Owen, a dissenter,* who had a mind to speak with me, but was or seemed something bashful or fearful of coming to me, until some acquainted me therewith; and then I gave him liberty to come and speak with me, and told him my opinion, that it was for liberty of conscience as I have now declared," &c.

George Whitehead. "I have heard as much a great while ago, from Edward Waller, Esq. who is lately dead; he signified to the same purpose, concerning the duke of York's being of that opinion for liberty of conscience, long since," &c.

Gilbert Latey. "That which the king has signified secretly he has now declared openly, to the comforting the hearts of many thousands, who truly bless God for the king's kindnesses, and return hearty thanks to the king for the same; and for all the kindnesses thou hast shown to us, the Lord reward thee, and return thee a thousand fold into thy own bosom."

King. "I thank you heartily."

George Whitehead. "I have one particular case from Leeds in Yorkshire, which our Friends desired me to acquaint the king withal; and that is, the magistrates of Leeds, in the late persecutions, were more severe to our Friends than any magistrates in all the county of York besides. At Leeds, they have not only imprisoned them and endeavoured to banish them out of the land, having prosecuted them in order to banishment, on the statute of the 13th and 14th of the late king, which extends to imprisonment and transportation, but also

* Dr. Owen. The king little thought that in the company of this *one Owen*, he conversed with a man whose name would stand much higher in the respectful remembrance of posterity than his own, and whose writings were likely to be read with interest, so long as the English language remained to be the vehicle of Christian instruction. *Editor.*

they took away their goods from their religious meetings, and do still keep the goods of one person or more unsold, and refuse to restore the goods to the respective owner or owners when desired by our Friends concerned. Wherefore we entreat the king to speak to the lord president, to write two or three lines to the mayor and alderman of Leeds, to cause them to restore the goods to the respective owners." And thereupon George Whitehead delivered the case in writing to the king.

King. "I'll do it; I'll speak to my lord Sunderland to write as you desire." Which accordingly he did, and an order was the next day taken out for restitution of the said goods.

George Whitehead. "We thankfully acknowledge the king's kindness in this case also," &c.

Gilbert Latey. "We pray God reward the king into his bosom, for all his favours and kindnesses, and grant him, if it be His will, long life and a happy reign here, and a crown of immortal glory hereafter."

George Whitehead. "We sincerely desire it," &c.

King. "I thank you heartily."

The liberty given by king James II. to his dissenting subjects was, in the year 1687, confirmed by a general declaration for liberty of conscience; by which free leave was given to all to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, whether in private houses or places purposely provided for that use; and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to Church, or any other nonconformity to the established religion, were suspended by the king's sole authority. Although in this declaration the king expresses his wish, that all his subjects were members of the Catholic Church, yet he says:

"We humbly thank Almighty God, it is and hath of long time been our constant sense and opinion, which upon divers occasions we have declared, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in mat-

ters of mere religion: it has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of government; which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers; and, finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed."

George Whitehead appears to have placed confidence in the king's sincerity; and perhaps he also thought, if the king succeeded in gaining admission for many of his Romish friends to offices even in the Established Church, that he would be able to support his views in regard to liberty of conscience.* "As for us," he says, "the people commonly called Quakers, and our ministers, having no such revenues as tithes, hire, or wages for preaching to lose, our Gospel being free, we were not so afraid of popery or a popish prince and clergy, as those who enjoy those great revenues which the popish Church and priesthood claim, and would gladly possess.

"The king having often seriously declared liberty of conscience to be his principle and persuasion, and we who had long deeply suffered partaking thereof, especially in the latter part of his reign, had great reason to be the more easy and thankful that we had some

* It had been too obvious that the name of a protestant establishment was no security against one of the worst features of popery—*persecution;* and had the king succeeded in his wishes, it is highly probable that, in the state of parties, he could have supported himself only by a general toleration of his protestant subjects; it was not, at any rate, surprizing, that those who had suffered so severely under the protestant establishment, should take this view of the subject, and perhaps underrate the danger which attended the king's designs. There is no doubt however, that many members of the Society, at that time, viewed with serious alarm the consequences to the country of the establishment of a *popish prince and clergy*, and who sincerely hailed that ever memorable providence, by which the truly protestant William and Mary were placed without bloodshed on the throne of England. To their reign, as Besse remarks in the preface to his book of Quaker Sufferings, "was reserved the glory of establishing to protestant dissenters, a general liberty of conscience in religious worship." *Editor.*

relief from those extreme hardships we had long suffered under.

"Howbeit, the king's aforesaid declaration not having the sanction of an act of parliament for confirmation and continuance, we did not think our liberty secured to us thereby, any more than it was under the reign of his brother, king Charles the Second, but uncertain and precarious as it was before; when we had only that king's specious promises and declarations, which lasted but a little while, and were soon made void by the parliament and himself, and the many persecutors let loose upon us again, because the same liberty granted was not passed into a law."

George Whitehead does not think it his business to treat of the particular causes of the king's removal from the throne; they are, says he, "matters of state and government." He piously refers the whole affair to the counsels of "the Divine Majesty, the Searcher of Hearts, by whom the intentions and designs of men and princes are foreseen and known, who rules over the kingdoms of men and gives them to whomsoever He will."

SECTION XVIII.

Proceedings in the reign of William and Mary—Respecting the act of toleration.—The case of Friends suffering for contempts, &c. —The obtaining of an act for the admission of the solemn affirmation of Friends instead of an oath.

George Whitehead introduces his account of his own and his Friends' proceedings in the early part of the reign of William and Mary, with the following review.

The great and merciful providence of the Lord God Almighty towards us his people, is worthy to be for ever remembered. He gave us not over to the will of our enemies, who often breathed out cruelty against us, threatening our ruin and desolation; blessed be our God! who hath frustrated their cruel designs and restrained the remainder of their wrath, and contrary thereunto hath carried on his own work and prospered the same, to his own praise and his people's comfort; causing all to work together for good, to all them who truly love his Name and Power: blessed for ever be the same!

Although for the space of about twenty-five years, from 1660 to 1684, we had but small respite from some kind of persecution or other, notwithstanding the liberty of conscience so often promised and declared from the throne; yet the Truth lost no ground, but gained through all. The persecution time was a seed time, for the Truth and Gospel of Christ Jesus which we suffered for, and the faithful grew and multiplied. The good seed of the Gospel being sown and planted, the same increased and spread even in those suffering times, which neither the devil nor his instruments could ever root out. That Divine Presence attended us in our many deep sufferings, which reached and tenderly af-

fected many hearts and souls, as they beheld and observed the patience and innocence wherein the Lord sustained us in our many trials and sufferings, whereby many were not only moved with compassion to us, but also to enquire after the Lord and his Truth, the cause for which we patiently suffered. As the more Israel was afflicted and oppressed under Pharaoh in Egypt, the more they multiplied and grew; so as the Lord's people have been persecuted and oppressed in this Gospel day, the more their number has increased and they multiplied; wherein still the merciful providence of Almighty God has appeared, to frustrate the evil designs of ungodly persecutors and wicked men.

And moreover, it is very remarkable and memorable, how the Lord God by his wisdom and power has appeared and wrought for his people, in gradually making way for that liberty of conscience so greatly laboured for; insomuch that the understandings of many in outward government, even of the supreme in authority, have been so far enlightened, as to see that liberty from persecution is not only most equal and consistent with a Christian spirit and temper, but also with their own safety and the peace of the government and nation. Yea, I have heard it declared by a great person of the Church of England, as in the name or person of the Church, viz. "Neither we nor you are safe without the toleration." And many that have formerly had a hand in persecution, are now willing that former sin of theirs should be covered, that they may be esteemed sincere for liberty of conscience against persecution. Others, even persons of note, have gloried and seemed to rejoice, in that they never had a hand in persecution, nor signed a warrant against any of us; it being generally, by men ingenuous and sober, deemed scandalous, or a brand of infamy, to be accounted a persecutor.

Hitherto then as the Lord our God hath been graciously pleased to help us through many deep sufferings, hardships, and trials, He hath also been at work in the

hearts of men in power; and in order to give his churches among us rest, He prepared the heart of the government, after the revolution, to allow us the sanction of a law for our liberty, together with other dissenting protestants, respecting our religious exercise in our public assemblies.

And therefore now I may give some brief account of the said act, and how I and others of our Friends were concerned about the same. It commonly goes by the title of "The Act of Toleration;" but the real title is, "An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws." Anno primo Gulielma & Mariæ.

The preamble is, viz. "Forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their majesties' protestant subjects in interest and affection, be it enacted," &c.

This act contains much of the substance, and divers clauses of the bill, entitled, "A bill of ease to all Protestant Dissenters;" which was endeavoured to have been passed by the parliament in king Charles the Second's time, 1680 and 1681, but not effected either in his reign, or in his brother's succeeding, as before related.

After a bill was brought into the parliament in order to the aforesaid act, entitled, "An Act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects," &c.; divers of our Friends, with myself, had great care and concern upon our minds, that it might be effectual and clear, without being clogged or perplexed with any snare in it; so that we might be truly eased from persecution, and our religious liberties be uninterrupted.

Some of the terms in the said bill, required of protestant dissenters to prove themselves Christians, were, viz. "That all such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, coequal with the Father and

the Son, one God, blessed for ever: and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be the revealed will and word of God."

Although we knew when the parliament had thus granted liberty of conscience to dissenting protestants, in religious exercise, grounded upon this or the like reason, namely, for the increase of Charity among Christians, and that no person or persons professing the protestant religion, although dissenting from the Church of England, should be disquieted or called in question for the same, that it was very fair and plausible: yet to prevent any such from being stumbled or ensnared by some expressions in the aforesaid profession or creed which appeared unscriptural in the said bill, we, instead thereof, did propose and humbly offer, as our own real belief of the Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, viz. "I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for ever: and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be given by Divine Inspiration."

This declaration John Vaughton and I delivered to Sir Thomas Clergis, who, with some others, were desirous we should give in such confession of our Christian belief, that we might not lie under the unjust imputation of being no Christians, nor thereby be deprived of the benefit of the intended law for our religious liberty. We were therefore of necessity put upon offering the said confession, it being also our known professed principle, sincerely to confess Christ the Son of the Living God, his Divinity, and as He is the Eternal Word; and that the Three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, are One: One Divine Being, One God, blessed for ever.

Moreover, the said Sir Thomas Clergis, being satisfied with our confession aforesaid, delivered unto him, moved for the same before a grand committee of the whole house of commons, mentioning some of our names from whom he had the said confession; whereupon we

were called into the house, and some other Friends, as William Mead and John Osgood, that the committee might have our confession from ourselves, and the parliament be the better satisfied therewith in hearing us: so that I had then occasion to answer the committee very clearly and to their satisfaction, both as to our really owning the Deity, and the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as given forth by Divine Inspiration. The last being most in question, we gave them such plain and clear satisfaction, both as to the holy doctrine contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the historical parts thereof, as being preserved by Divine Providence to us, that I clearly perceived our confession and testimony had such influence and effect upon the spirit of the parliament, that it made for the furtherance of the said bill, in order to bring it into an act.

Some of the members would have had it made but a temporary act, for three years; in which I opposed them, and showed the unreasonableness of such a limitation of our religious liberty, urging that it ought to be perpetual. So after much labour and attending on our parts, the bill was passed.

Although under the early reign of king William the Third, we had so far obtained liberty by law, as to enjoy our religious meetings for the worship of God peaceably; yet there remained many of our Friends prisoners, and under prosecution by priests and others, for nonpayment of tithes, and many of them detained in prisons, chiefly upon contempts, as their term is, for not answering upon oath to the priests' bills and plaints, &c.

These cases being considered among us, after I had impartially stated and drawn them up, our Friends agreed to have them presented to the king, that he might both understand their cases and suffering, for not paying tithes and not swearing.

Our Friends thereupon desiring me to present the case to the king, and to take with me three or four of

our Friends whom I pleased, that were free thereto, I accepted of that service; being always willing to serve and help suffering Friends, as I had been in the two king's reigns before, according to my ability, and as the Lord was pleased to enable me.

Whereupon I desired my ancient companion in solicitation, Gilbert Latey, with Thomas Lower the doctor, John Taylor of York, my late brother-in-law, and our friend Daniel Quare, to accompany me to the king. Daniel Quare, being known to the king, which the rest of us then were not, we sent him in to procure our access into his presence. The king enquired of him "who we were, and in what station or places among our people?" Daniel told him, "We were ministers and elders among us."

The king then sent for us into a little private apartment, where he was alone, and I presented our case, which I desired him favourably to accept: which he did. He enquired of us, what places we belonged to, or to what congregations we did minister? Which gave me good occasion to answer him, "that we were not settled as ministers or pastors over any particular congregations, but visited our Friends' meetings in divers places, as the Lord inclined us; for we do not make a gain of our ministry; we do not take stipends or hire for preaching; but preach the Gospel freely, according to Christ's command to his ministers; 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' &c." The king gave no reply, but appeared very serious, and satisfied with my answer.

I proffered to read our case to him; he said, "Nay, he would read it himself;" seeming rather willing to hear us in discourse, than read at that time.

I thereupon acquainted him, that the chief of our Friends' sufferings then was, because they cannot make their answers to the priest's suits for tithes upon oath, which for conscience sake they refused in any case; and no less for conscience' sake do they refuse the payment of tithes, whereby the priests take great advan-

tage against our Friends, to run them to contempts and imprisonments, and to make seizures upon their goods and estates, &c. wherefore we had applied to the parliament for relief in the case of oaths, that they might not be imposed upon us in any case; we offering to submit to the penalty of perjury, in case any of us were found false or corrupt in our evidence or testimonies given without oath. But our application to the parliament had not taken effect as desired, it being sometimes prorogued or otherwise dismissed, before we could get our case through both houses.

This our case of conscience in refusing to swear, I told the king, was the same with the people's called Menists in the Low Countries, as it was a matter of conscience to them; to whom his predecessors gave liberty that their word, in attesting the truth in courts, &c. might be accepted instead of an oath, which is what we desire; and therefore when we might see it a season to apply again to the parliament for relief in this case, I desired the king to stand our friend, and favourably to recommend our case to some leading members of parliament; which he seriously promised he would do.

And accordingly he did perform his promise, as we had account from some of the friendly members of parliament; one of whom in particular told me, he was present with the king and one of the house of lords, and heard them discourse about the Quakers; and how the king pleaded on their behalf, contrary to some objections that lord made against them; which were, that they were disaffected to the government. And that the king answered him: "My lord, I am not of your opinion; for there is an honest people among them." This much the said member, Sir John Austin, told me.

I also remember in the discourse I had with the king, when I answered him in several things before mentioned, relating to our conscience and Christian testimony, he made this objection, viz.: "You are a

divided people." I told him: "No; as we are a people we are not divided, but in union: although there are some who have separated or gone out from us, and therefore are not of us, as there were of old some who separated and went out from the primitive Christians; yet we remain a people in unity, that is, of the same faith and profession." To which our friend John Taylor added; "Such as turned into separation or division from us, were some disorderly persons, who therefore were denied by us:" or to that very effect. And I farther added: "That I had known the people called Quakers from the first; and, as a people, they were still the same as to faith and principles, which allows not of division or separation."

The king replied to this effect, viz.: "But some among you are disaffected to the government."

I answered: "It is a hard matter for us to enter into the private affections of persons, without some overt act; we do not know that any of our Friends have manifested disaffection to the government; for if we did certainly know that any of those in communion with us, should by any overt act, in word or deed, show any disaffection to the present government, we should certainly disown them therein, and give testimony against them. It is true, we have of late been aspersed, and misrepresented with such nicknames as Meadites and Pennites, as if we set up sect-masters among us: yet we own no such thing; but Christ Jesus to be our only Master, as we are a Christian society and people." The king appeared well satisfied with my answer, and with the rest of our discourse; being very serious in his attention to the matters proposed unto him.

I must confess I had very great satisfaction and freedom of spirit, to open divers weighty matters relating to our principles and testimony; and I had therein the more freedom, because he was seriously attentive to hear and receive information concerning us.

Near the conclusion I proposed to the king, that inasmuch as the Lord keeper, viz. the lord Somers,

knew the laws, and how far the king might safely extend his prerogative, particularly in the case we had delivered, if he pleased we would deliver him a copy thereof, that he might be the better prepared to give advice in our case, what way the king might release our Friends, who were prisoners upon contempts, as set forth in the said case. The king answered: "You may deliver it, (that is, a copy,) to him; for I'll speak with my lord keeper about it." After our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the king's kindness to us, and our suffering Friends, we withdrew.

The next day, or soon after we had been with the king, our friend John Edge went with me to the said lord keeper, with a copy of the case, which I thus introduced when I gave it: I told him we had presented the case to the king, and having heard a good character of thyself, (I being then little acquainted with him,) we made bold to mention thee to the king for counsel in this case, how our Friends who are prisoners upon contempts might be released; and the king told us, he would speak with the lord keeper about it.

The lord keeper took it kindly, showing not only his own desire our suffering Friends should be released and enjoy their liberties, but also freely signified to us, that the king was really for liberty of conscience to dissenters, and that it was his real principle; which we were very glad to hear from him, being a person of honour and credit.

In a very short time after the case of the suffering Friends had been presented to the king and lord keeper, there came out an act of grace, in the year 1695, pardoning contempts, &c. whereupon about forty of our Friends were discharged out of the prisons.

Though the prisoners were then set free, the laws by which they had suffered remained in force, and would doubtless soon have supplied the prisons again, if successful means had not been used to obtain a law by which the affirmation of Friends might be received

instead of an oath. The time seemed now arrived when such a proposal might be safely made to the legislature by the Society; and George Whitehead, as usual, appears to have taken the most active part in the solicitation of the measure. He inserts in his memoirs a very particular account of the proceedings.

A case was drawn up, stating clearly the grounds of the Society's scruple against oaths, namely, that it was purely a case of conscience, resting on their understanding of Christ's words; which in common with many ancient martyrs in the early periods of the Christian Church, they believed to forbid swearing in all cases. They declared themselves ready to answer the just and good ends of law and government, as a peaceable people fearing God; stated the grievance under which they laboured from refusing to swear, both in their persons and estates; and concluded with the following request, viz.: "That in all cases where *oaths* are imimposed and swearing required, our word, that is, our solemn affirmation or denial *as in the fear and presence of God*, may be accepted instead of an *oath;* for which we humbly offer and freely submit, that if any be found false in such their affirmation, that then such penalty be inflicted on the person so offending, as law and justice require in case of false swearing or perjury."

It is evident from the statement made of the grievances endured by the Society on account of their religious scruple, that they must have more or less affected nearly all its members; and their patient and unostentatious suffering under their remaining trials, is a valuable testimony to the continued faith and piety of the Society.

They were disabled from recovering debts by legal process; from defending their titles and properties; from being witnesses in courts of judicature; and from proving wills or taking administration. Their young men were not allowed their freedom in cities and corporations, when they had served their apprenticeships; and in many places they were debarred the exercise of their right as

freeholders, in the election of magistrates and members of parliament.

A petition embodying a brief statement of their case and wishes, was presented to the house of commons on the 7th of the 12th month, 1695. It was followed by a motion for leave to bring in a bill, that "*the solemn affirmation and negation or denial of the Quakers, might be accepted instead of an oath, &c.*" The motion was carried by a large majority: "Whereupon," says George Whitehead, "many of the members came out to us, with great joy, love, and tenderness, and showed their satisfaction that they had so well gained the point for us."

George Whitehead gives the following account of his and his Friends' proceedings in this important business.

Leave being given to bring in a bill, according to our petition, several draughts were prepared; the first by counsellor Conyers, which was something long, yet he took some pains in it, to answer what we requested in our petition, particularly about our solemn affirmation, &c. to be accepted instead of taking an oath, and to exempt us from swearing. In his bill, he stated the matter, that the Quakers should solemnly declare the truth, in like manner and form of words, as are used by all other persons who are required to declare the same, except only the attestation thereof upon oath; that is, the words swear, and, so help me God, &c. to be omitted. But then to make our attestation, affirmation, or negation, so solemn as was expected from us by the parliament, in courts of justice, &c. it was the opinion of most of our friends in parliament, that there must be some solemn or sacred expressions, religiously respecting God, as solemnly to declare the truth in his presence: which we durst not gainsay, least we should be deemed atheistical; it being our principle, that God is omnipresent, and omniscient also.

However, as in a multitude of counsel there is safety,

we discoursed the point with several ingenuous men of the house of commons, that we might proceed with what safety and success we could. We went particularly to Sir Francis Wynington, an ancient, able counsel, who greatly stood our friend; and we showed him counsellor Conyer's draught of the said bill, which, upon perusal Sir Francis judged much too long, and that it would be the more tedious and difficult to get it through the house, into an act; adding this reason, that it had better be too short, than too long, that the committee might have the amending of it, and then they would be the more willing to pass it; whereupon he drew up a short bill, but would not insert therein the bare words, yea or nay, for attestation in courts of justice: and to offer the same in the house of commons, in a bill, for an act of parliament, his opinion was, would be laughed at, or ridiculed and rejected.

Many others were of the same mind, that such expressions, or terms, must be offered in the bill, as might appear solemn, or sacred, whether in affirmation or negation; as to declare, in the presence of God, to an answer or evidence, &c. Their forms of oaths, and swearing, having been of such long standing, and such great stress and obligation laid upon them, for many hundred years, that it was a very difficult point, and a great thing to gain any such variation from them, as conscientiously to declare, or affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, instead of the imprecation oath, of, "so help me God;" and the ceremony of handling, and kissing the bible.

To obtain such a great alteration from an oath, and imprecation, to a plain solemn affirmation, as before, was indeed a great point, as many of our Friends were very sensible of, and thankful for, when it was gained.

The bill as drawn up by Sir Francis Wynington, was read the 17th of 12th month (February) 1695, the first time. Read again the 3rd of the 1st month, 1695, a second time, and committed; the same day the com-

mittee met. For its being committed 130 votes, against it 68; more for it, than against 62.

The 4th of the 1st month, the committee met again and passed the bill. The 10th of the 1st month, ordered it to be engrossed; and the 13th day, the bill passed the house of commons, by 146 voices for it, and 99 against it; 47 more yeas than noes; and the same day it was carried to the house of lords, where it was read twice; but the opposition some members of that house made to us herein, did occasion our longer attendance, and labour to inform them rightly of our case, and the necessity of our being relieved. Upon my reasoning with divers of the peers who had opposed us herein, I did so far convince them, that they were changed in judgment and opinion concerning us, and did appear for us in this our case; insomuch that I was daily sensible, the hand of the Lord our God, that was with us in our industrious endeavours, made way and did work for us therein.

To Him be the glory of all for ever!

To incline the house of peers to grant relief from our sufferings for not swearing, our case was reprinted, and presented with several reasons subjoined; and among others, this following, viz.

We also propose to your serious consideration, that this moderation to persons scrupling to swear, hath had good effects in our neighbouring countries, as above one hundred years' experience hath manifested, in the following instance: on the 26th day of January, 1577, Guillaume de Nassau, prince of Orange, and stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, &c. with the consent of the government and council, sent his mandate to the magistrates, commanding (on behalf of the people called Menists, who refused to swear in any case) that their yea should be accepted, and taken instead of an oath, they being subject, in case of falsifying the truth, to the pains of perjury.

In the year 1593, prince Maurice, son of the former prince, with the consent of the states, gave forth a pla-

card or mandate, in behalf of the Menists, to the same effect, &c.

Upon these passages of the Menists having this liberty to be exempted from taking an oath, upon their yea, there was this quotation in the margin of the second impression, viz. "G. Burnet's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, part I. p. 587, 588."

Whereupon some of the temporal lords told me, that the bishop of Salisbury had taken occasion to exclaim against the Quakers openly, in the house of lords, for falsely quoting his name as author of the said history. Whereby I was somewhat surprized, and told the lords I would make enquiry about the mistake; and quickly searching the first impression, found it to be a literal mistake of the printer; for in the first, it is G. Brant's history, not Burnet's. I went the next day and showed the same, as first printed, to two of the said lords, that is, the earl of Carbery, and earl of Marlborough, desiring them to call the said bishop out, that I might show him where the mistake was; which they did, and then I plainly showed the bishop, that it was a literal mistake of the printer, and that the Quakers could have no design to misrepresent him in the quotation; neither could the literal mistake be any great disparagement to him, to be rendered the author of such a noted or esteemed history of the reformation. And therefore I hoped he would pardon the mistake, so as not to charge us therewith; which he cheerfully granted, making then but slight thereof. Thereupon I wished him to be our friend, with respect to the bill depending before the house of lords to relieve us from oaths. He objected that the name of God was not mentioned in it, viz. solemnly to bear witness in the presence of God; and if we did not allow of that, he would be against us; but if "the presence of God" was in it, he promised he would be for us.

I told him, those solemn expressions, "In the presence of God," were in the bill as it came from the house of commons, I was sure; desiring him to go in

and see the bill, that he might satisfy himself of the truth thereof; so he went into the house of lords to see the bill, and quickly came forth again to us, standing with the two temporal lords; and he then said, "it was true as I had told him, 'the presence of God' was mentioned in the bill." The earl of Carbery told him: "Then you were mistaken, my lord." Whereupon I said to him, I hoped he would now be for the bill, and be present when it was read a second time. He promised before the two lords he would; but was not, being absent the day it was moved; of which notice was taken by them and others. Howbeit the Lord our Heavenly Father stood by us and helped us, and inclined many of those in power to help forward the case for our relief.

On the 15th of the 2nd month, called April, 1696, the bill was read a second time, and committed to a committee of the whole house, and then some debate held a while, chiefly about a solemn declaration instead of an oath; some of them not willing it should pass in those general and solemn expressions, as sent up from the house of commons, viz. their solemn affirmation or declaration, to be in the presence of Almighty God. But some of the bishops, &c. urging some other words to be added, as

1. I call God to witness and judge, &c.
2. As witness and judge, &c.
3. I call God to record upon my soul, and appeal to God as Judge, &c.

Whereupon divers of the temporal lords came out several times (we waiting at several doors and ways into the house of lords) to discourse about those words some of the bishops would have had put upon us; to all which, as I told some of them at first, our soliciting and petitioning to be freed from the imposition and burthen of all oaths, was not to have any new oath to be imposed upon us; for if there be any imprecation, appealing to, or invocating God as judge or avenger, &c. it

would be construed to be an oath, or of the nature of an oath.

Upon this and the like expressions, some of those lords who were most friendly to us returned into the house, to discourse farther with the bishops, &c. when they perceived how tender and careful we were, not to be imposed upon in any thing contrary to our consciences. After they had further discoursed in the committee with those bishops, &c. they came out again to us in the lobby, where a few of us were attending under a true Christian care and fear towards Almighty God: and those lords who came out to us, and showed most care and kindness to us, urged, that inasmuch as the bishops were caught upon these words, to be added to the word God, viz. "the Witness of the truth of what I say," as containing no imprecation nor invocation of God, as Judge or Avenger, &c.; those lords that were most our friends, were very earnest that we would admit of the addition of the words which they proposed to be added, rather than to lose our bill or have it thrown out; forasmuch as God is really witness to the truth sincerely declared, He being omniscient as well as omnispresent. Then seeing the bishops were argued out of their first proposition, of calling God to witness and judge, &c.; the matter was left to them that then appeared our friends, and were really kind to us, with this caution, not to exceed these words which they had obtained concession to, viz. "the Witness of the truth." Whereupon they constrained the bishops so as not to exceed them, by any imprecation, invocation, or appeal to God, as Judge, Avenger, &c.

After report made of their amendments by the committee of the lords' house, the bill was passed, with this following form of a solemn affirmation inserted in it, and agreed unto by the house of peers, where it was formed, viz.: "I, A. B., do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the Witness of the truth of what I say."*

* This declaration was by the act made to have the force of an

With some few additions in the bill the same day, they returned the bill to the house of commons; who on the 17th of the said 2nd month, called April, agreed to the lords' amendments; and on the 20th of the same

oath in all cases except those included in the following provision: "That no Quaker shall by this act be qualified to give evidence in any criminal causes, or serve on any juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government."

The terms of the affirmation were far from being satisfactory to many Friends. The *dissatisfied*, considered the definition of an oath to be *a solemn appeal to God, as to the truth of any declaration;* and in this sense they believed it to be forbidden in the New Testament. It appears from the remarks of George Whitehead, that those who were *satisfied* with the affirmation as granted in the act, though they would have preferred a simpler form, looked upon the imprecation in the conclusion of the usual form of the oath, and the holding and kissing the book, as constituting the objectionable parts of the act. It is not my business here to discuss the question of which party took the more correct view; but as a circumstance in the history of our present privileges, it seems worthy of notice, that the dissatisfaction which prevailed with the allowed form, led to the continuance of suffering in several instances, and to much painful discussion in the church. Thomas Story, who was himself a dissentient, and a sufferer for being so, has preserved in his journal many particulars relative to this subject, and the following passage from his work, will, I think, be interesting to the reader, in connexion with George Whitehead's account.

Under the date of 1715, after speaking of the Yearly Meeting, he says: "As the affirmation, from the beginning of it, had occasioned much disturbance in the church, some being for, and some against it; so these divisions had ever been very oppressive to my spirit, as knowing nothing could hurt us more than that, or give satan or evil men more advantage against us: but though, from its first birth I never liked it, yet I ever kept true charity to those Friends who were for it, as believing they saw no hurt in it, though, I thought, I did; and, at my coming over to London, I laboured among them, to regain and keep a right temper one towards another: and, as they talked of a farther solicitation concerning it, (the late act being ready to expire,) I advised several leading men on both sides to proceed in one joint interest as one people; for though we could not all agree about the definition of an oath, or in what relation the affirmation stood to an oath; yet we all were as one man still, that an oath is not consistent with Christ's doctrine; and accordingly they did both solicit for a plain affirmation, without the Sacred Name at all; but that could not be obtained; all that the parliament would do, was to perpetuate the former, adding some clauses for the levying of tithes. When this came to be discoursed in the meeting, the minds of some on both

month, the said bill was sent up again to the house of peers, agreed on, concluded, and confirmed by the king and both houses of parliament, as a temporary act, then to continue in force for seven years, from the 14th

sides being heated, things were like to run high; but the Lord was near, and, by his blessed wisdom and power, preserved us in unity. Some few of these who were for the affirmation inclined to have it established over all, as the testimony of Truth by the Yearly Meeting; and some others, on the other side, were resolved to reject it, and testify against it, as short of the testimony of Truth: but seeing the tendency of such a division, I and some others laboured for peace; and, with much long-suffering, patience, and labour in the love and wisdom of Truth, and as it opened and made way, things came at last to this good issue, that such as could take the affirmation, might have the benefit of it without censure of their brethren, and such as could not take it, should not be reproached by them; but that the Meeting for Sufferings should continue their care and solicitations, together with the dissatisfied, for further ease in that point, at a fit season: and with this conclusion both sides were at last easy, and the meeting ended in more peace and brotherly kindness than for some years before, and to a more general satisfaction; for which my soul was truly thankful, with many more."

The discussions were renewed at the Yearly Meetings for several succeeding years; and at last several Friends who were satisfied with the affirmation, as it had been granted by parliament, proposed that a fresh solicitation should take place, for such a form as should meet the wishes of their conscientious dissentient brethren. The proposal was adopted; and, in consequence, Thomas Story, with one or more of the other party, had interviews with the earl of Carlisle, the earl of Sunderland, the duke of Somerset, and several bishops; from whom they received friendly expressions of willingness to give ease to tender consciences in regard to the affirmation. The king, Geo. I., was also applied to, and appeared very friendly to the cause of liberty. A petition was addressed to parliament, in the year 1721, *praying for leave to bring in a bill for such form of affirmation, as might relieve the difficulties under which many members of the Society laboured, from their scruple to the usual form.* The house of commons readily granted the request, but it met a violent opposition in the house of lords, from many peers both temporal and spiritual. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, said: "he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were *hardly Christians.*" When the bill came before the house, the archbishop of Canterbury moved, that the Quaker's affirmation might not be allowed in courts of judicature, except among themselves; and the archbishop of York moved for a clause, that the Quaker's affirmation should not go in any suit at law for tithes; but, after some debate, the question be-

of May, 1696, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, according to the words of the act. The act was renewed again for eleven years, beginning the 22nd of November, 1702; at which time not being well in health, I could be but little with the other Friends in their attendance on the parliament in that concern.

In 1714 the act was made perpetual; and in 1721, as already stated at the conclusion of the last note, the form of the affirmation was altered so as to meet the wishes of the more scrupulous members of the Society.

The next point which claimed the particular attention of this vigilant guardian of the Society's interest, was connected with its scruple against tithes, &c. A bill was brought into parliament for the "better payment of church rates, small tithes, and other church dues; and the better passing churchwarden's accounts." The *better way* which the bill proposed, was giving new powers to the ecclesiastical courts. It recited an act of Henry VIII. which *empowered* justices to commit to gaol, persons proved in the ecclesiastical courts to have obstinately and wilfully refused to pay their tithes; but it was now proposed to empower the ecclesiastical judge to determine all such matters absolutely: but with the true hypocrisy of a persecuting church, the civil magistrate was to be called upon, without the exercise of any discretion on his part, to issue out his warrant of distress, or if that was not to be found, to commit the party to prison.

The bill made its appearance in the house of lords; and having been referred to a committee, George White-

ing put theron, was carried into the negative by fifty-two voices against twenty-one; and the question being put in the house whether the bill should pass, it was resolved in the affirmative. By this bill the affirmation was established in the simple form, I *A. B.*, *do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm.* whereby ease and relief was extended universally to the members of this Society in respect to oaths. *Gough*, vol. iv. p. 190.

head with seven other Friends were admitted, at their request, to state their objections to it. The bishop of London was the chairman; and having asked them what they had to except against the bill, George Whitehead spoke on behalf of the deputation, and he gives the following account of the interview.

I answered: "The same reason that is given in the act of parliament, in the 17th of king Charles the First, for the taking away the court commonly called the Star Chamber; and the power of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and their high commission court, being removed; because of their oppressive and arbitrary proceedings, &c. upon the repeal of a branch of a statute, primo Elizabeth, concerning commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, 17 Charles I. cap. 10 and 11; it is conceived, with submission, that the same reasons may be alleged against the present bill giving such absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts, their judges and ordinaries, to give the definite sentence and judgment, &c. that is, as therein described."

Bishop. "You except against the bill itself, &c.; what particulars do you object against?"

George Whitehead. "Observing divers particular clauses therein, it appears contrary to the great charter of England, that is magna charta, as the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the star chamber and high commission court were adjudged to be; and therefore they and their power or jurisdiction which they exercised, were justly taken away from them.

"By the present bill, the ecclesiastical judge or ordinary, is made the sole judge and determiner by his definitive sentence, concerning the penalties upon the persons and estates; and no appeal to any other or higher court, seems to be granted or allowed by it.

"The ecclesiastical judge and court commonly favour the plaintiff, that is, the vicar, priest, or curate, as a party for him, and therefore appear not to be impartial judges in the case.

"And suppose the defendant be sued for a tithe-pig,

goose, or hen, or a little orchard fruit, (that is, a few apples, pears, plums, or cherries, or the value thereof,) and the party for conscience' sake cannot pay the same, then must he or she be committed to prison for it. Surely there is no proportion between the punishment and the pretended offence; whereas punishments ought not to exceed the nature of the offence, they should be adapted to the quality and quantity of the offence; as it is a maxim in common law and justice, and in magna charta, for a greater offence a greater amercement; and for a lesser offence a lesser amercement. But if a person for conscience' sake cannot pay a tithe-pig, or goose, &c. the ecclesiastical court, judge or ordinary, by their certificate, will cause two justices to commit the person to jail, there to remain perhaps without bail or mainprize, until the court receive satisfaction, or until payment; which if he can never do, there he must remain under confinement till death; and his days may be soon shortened thereby, as many have been, by close confinement, causing sickness, &c."

One of the committee queried: "Which would you have then? do you choose rather to have your goods seized or distrained, than imprisonment of your persons?"

George Whitehead answered: "Of two evils we had better suffer by the less, yet choose neither. If we must suffer for nonpayment of tithes, we would rather suffer the less penalty than the greater; rather loss of goods than our liberties; as it is a more easy suffering, to have the small tithes or a tenth taken away, than to be confined in prison all our life time.

"As to paying parish clerks or sextons, or to the fabrics of parochial churches, (so the bishop termed them,) we do not think it equal we should suffer for not paying to them, whom we do not employ; and we do not require any of the Church of England to pay toward the repair of our meeting houses, they would not be so dealt by, &c."

The bishop reflected: "What, then, you compare

your meeting houses to ours, which are established by law," &c. I replied: "We are thankful to the government, ours are now legally allowed by the late act of exemption or toleration, &c."

One of the lords temporal put this question to us, viz. "But what reason have you in point of conscience, for your refusing to pay tithes?"

I answered: "That is a serious and weighty question, and deserves such an answer, viz. the reason of our conscience in this case, is grounded upon and has respect unto our Lord Jesus Christ, his command in his commission to his ministers: 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' *Matt.* x. And to his changing the priesthood of Levi, and disannulling the commandment and their law for tithes, as is fully signified in the 7th chapter to the *Hebrews*. Therefore Christ's ministry is a free ministry, under the Gospel Dispensation, and not to be upheld by tithes or forced maintenance; and it is very manifest, that Christ changed the priesthood from the tribe of Levi to Himself, (as our great High Priest,) who came not of the tribe of Levi, but of the tribe of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood, *Heb.* vii. 14.

"And our refusing to pay tithes for conscience' sake, in these respects, in this Gospel day, and for these reasons, under the Gospel Dispensation, is no new or strange thing; for many eminent martyrs and reformers were of the same judgment with us, in this matter or testimony against tithes, in this Dispensation, &c."

And as I was then beginning to mention some of those martyrs, &c. as William Thorpe, Walter Brute, John Wickliff, &c. the said bishop being chairman, was pleased to interrupt me from proceeding further in my instances, and thus reflectingly turned upon me: "Here you bring scraps of Scripture, but we have Scripture as well as you, viz: 'If we have sown unto you spiritual things, should not we reap of your temporal or carnal things.' 'And the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel,' &c."

Answer: "Reaping temporal things, or living of the Gospel, is not limited to tithes."

Here being interrupted and prevented from further discourse against tithes, the bishop asked us: "Have you any exceptions to offer in writing?"

I answered: "Yes, we have:" which we then delivered to the clerk, John Relph, Esq. to read; which he did very distinctly, and no reply was given; but the bishop directed him to lay them by for further consideration. But we heard of no further consideration or debate about the said bill in the house of lords, but that it was wholly laid aside.

The temporal lords that were present in the said committee were very civil to us; and after that discourse, divers of them appeared more kind to us than ever before.

I was very glad and esteemed it a great mercy from the Lord to us, that the said bill was stopped; for if it had passed into a law, I was persuaded that the priests of the persecuting sort, would have taken such strength and encouragement thereby, that they would have persecuted and imprisoned a great part of our Friends throughout England, &c.

Blessed be the Lord, they were disappointed, that that weapon was not formed ready to be put into their hands or power to make use of.

By the poll act which was passed in the previous reign, every dissenting teacher or preacher was obliged to pay a tax of twenty shillings quarterly; and as those were not exempted from payment who received no remuneration for preaching, the tax fell of course upon the ministers of Friends, and distraints it appears were made in several instances to recover it. When this act, on its expiration in 1695, was about to be renewed, George Whitehead and Thomas Lower applied to several influential members of parliament, and succeeded in convincing them that it was inconsistent with the tenor of the act, that persons who had no gain from preaching should pay a tax of four pounds a year;

and a clause was accordingly introduced into the new bill, which effectually relieved the case of Friends.

In the year 1697–8, the *Czar of Muscovy* being in England, it was agreed that some Friends should wait upon him; and George Whitehead prepared an address which contains bold but salutary counsel, shortly stating the character of the Society, and concluding with the following exhortation, to rule with mercy and to give liberty of conscience to his subjects.

"O Czar! the Great God requireth of thee, to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before Him, who is a God of knowledge, and by whom actions are weighed, and who is the righteous Judge of all.

"We pray thee observe the good resolution of that great king Artaxerxes, when he was made lord over many nations; he would not exalt himself by reason of his power, but purposed with equity always and gentleness to govern his subjects, and wholly to set them into a peaceable life, and thereby to bring his kingdom into tranquillity, &c.

"And know, that it is by mercy and truth that the thrones of kings are established; and that thereby thou mayest obtain mercy and favour with the Most High God, and gain the real love and affections of thy subjects. O! be tender and merciful to them all, as they are all thy fellow creatures, created by one God: O! break off thy sins by righteousness, and showing mercy to the poor.

"And let the example of our renowned king William, influence thee to the like moderation and clemency, throughout all thy dominions; which he hath showed in granting free liberty of conscience, in the peaceable exercise of religion and worship towards Almighty God, as they may be persuaded by Him who is the Sovereign Lord over the consciences of men.

"From thy real well wishers and friends to thy immortal soul, who desire thy everlasting happiness."

The paper was signed by five Friends, and among the rest by William Penn; and it appears that they

waited upon the Czar at Deptford, where he resided; but he declined to see them on the professed ground of being unwell. However, one of the principal persons in his suite, who treated the deputation in a friendly manner, promised to deliver the paper to his master.

The days of severe persecution had now drawn to a close, and there can be no doubt that a great improvement had taken place in the general feeling of all parties in regard to mutual toleration. The race of blind zealots was not however extinct. "There were some priests," says the narrative, "in the county of Norfolk, who appeared very invidious against us, and our liberty of religious exercise, being instigated by our old apostate adversary, Francis Bugg; and having what assistance he could afford them, they must needs have a public meeting with some of our Friends at West Deerham, in their parish church, so called, where some of our Friends of London and of the country met them, at the time appointed; and though the priest had gotten many of our Friends' books together, and endeavoured to render them obnoxious, yet they gained no advantage, but were disappointed of their evil designs; which were for some pretence to incense the people and the government to raise a new persecution against us, as hereafter is made more obvious. I had intended to have gone that journey into Norfolk, to have met them; but was in the interim prevented by a sudden indisposition, which remained for some days, till the Lord was pleased to recover me.

"However, the said Norfolk priests, in pursuit of their invidious designs and attempts, published two calumnious books, entitled

"I. 'A Brief Discovery,' &c.

"II. 'Some few of the Quakers' many horrid Blasphemies,' &c.; which they delivered to the parliament. The priests chiefly concerned against us in the said books, that they might appear men of note and learning, gave their names and distinctions in the title page of their said "Brief Discovery."

"These priests thought to do great matters against us, by most falsely and maliciously rendering our principles blasphemous and seditious, &c.; wherein they were sufficiently detected and refuted, in two books which I wrote, in direct and full answer to them and their most bitter and unjust charges against us and our principles.

"One of my answers to them is entitled, 'Truth and Innocency vindicated, and the People called Quakers defended in Principle and Practice, against invidious attempts and calumnies, &c.' printed 1699, and delivered to members of parliament.

"The other answer I put forth, is entitled 'Truth prevalent, and the Quakers discharged from the Norfolk rectors' furious charge, &c.' which though it be large, several of them were delivered to members of parliament.*

"Yet the implacable enmity of the said priests, and their assisting agent F. Bugg, and others, was such, that their persecuting us with gross aspersions and calumnies in print, would not appease their wrath; but they got an invidious petition framed against us, which they intended to present to the house of commons; in order to which, the two knights of the shire were intrusted to move the said petition in the house. Two priests attending and soliciting for some time, to have their petition moved and promoted in the house, but were disappointed therein, and their persecuting purposes justly frustrated.

"For having obtained a copy of their petition, I showed it to divers leading members of parliament; and how greatly the design thereof tended to raise a new persecution, and to make void the toleration and liberty of conscience, granted and legally settled by the

* The work consists of one hundred and eighty-seven closely printed small 4to pages. It forms an epitome of the charges against the Quakers, and an able defence of their civil and religious principles.

government. They were made sensible thereof; and resolved to oppose the said petition, and to throw it out with contempt, if it came to be moved in the house; asking me, "In whose hands it was?" I told them, "In the hands of the two Norfolk knights;" with whom I divers times discoursed about it, to show them the nature and tendency of the petition, and how greatly we were misrepresented in it. They understanding that many eminent members in the house were set against it, were in a strait, and intimated thus much to me, "that the clergy and some of the gentry of their own county of Norfolk, were earnest with them to present the said petition; but perceiving it would be rejected and thrown out, it brought them under that strait, that they must either displease those of their own county who chose them, or the house of commons." I told them: "It was an unthankful office that was put upon them:" they confessed it was. However, I said, "We did not solicit them to prevent their presenting or moving the said petition in the house; but if they were disposed to present it, we desired that justice of them, to give us some previous notice of the time when they intended to move it, that we might attend in readiness to answer for ourselves." This was fairly granted by them; however, upon their deliberate consideration, the petition was prudently dropt."

A similar attempt was made by the corporation of Bury in Suffolk, but their representatives in parliament wisely declined presenting the petition of their constituents to the house.

This petition with the light of a hundred years' experience upon its *jealousies*, sets the folly of the persecuting spirit in so striking and almost ludicrous a point of view, that I shall pay it the respect of insertion in this place.

"To the Honourable the Commons of England, in parliament assembled.

"The humble petition of the aldermen, assistant jus-

tice, and chief burgess, and burgesses of the common council, in behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants of the borough of Bury St. Edmonds, in Suffolk.

"Humbly showeth,

"That we considering all ancient heresies which have vexed both Church and state, were never so formidable in their rise and progress as are the Quakers; we have too just a cause of dreading the subversion of our government by them if not carefully prevented and suppressed, being in their clandestine constitutions opposite to the condition of our established policy, and in their principles of faith antichristian; of government, antimonarchial; in points of doctrine, antiscriptural; and in practices, illegal; having their weekly, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, which we cannot but reasonably believe, tend not only to the subversion of our laws, but of our religion also, to us of greater concern than our lives.

"We therefore, obliged in duty to God and our country, do humbly pray your timely consideration of our *jealousies, and to remove our fears, if not by totally suppressing, yet at least by preventing their after growth and encrease amongst us;* that our posterity may untroubled live, by this early care of our laws and liberties, and we enjoy the wished for happiness of a peaceful life."

At this period George Whitehead brings his memoirs to a close, and with the triumph of a Christian veteran, thus reviews the engagements of his past life.

CONCLUSION.

Manifold exercises, trials, and tribulations, hath the Lord my God supported me under, and carried me through, in my pilgrimage for his name and Truth's sake, more than could possibly be related in this history; having spent a long time, even the greatest part of my life from my youth upward, in the testimony, service, and vindication of the living, unchangeable Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus my Lord; for whom I have suffered many things, both in body and spirit, as also by reproaches and calumnies, and sincerely laboured in his love, who has supported me, and hitherto helped me in the Gospel of the Grace of God, and of his dear Son Jesus Christ, even the Gospel of life, salvation, and peace, to them who truly believe. And yet I esteem not all my sufferings and afflictions worthy to be compared to the glory set before me; for all which I must ascribe blessing, honour, glory, power, and dominion to the Lord God and the Lamb upon his throne, for ever and ever!

And when by the grace and assistance of my Heavenly Father, I have finished the work He hath given me to do; I firmly believe and livingly hope in the Lord, I shall die in the Lord Jesus Christ, and ever live with and rest in Him in his heavenly kingdom.

O my soul! enter thou into thy rest, even thy eternal rest from thy manifold labours, travails, and sufferings: for the Lord thy God hath dealt bountifully with thee; glory to his excellent Name for evermore!

G. W.

Concluded, London, the 18th of the 6th Month, 1711.

SECTION XIX.

Brief notice of George Whitehead's further services.*

When George Whitehead wrote the preceding conclusion to the account of his "Christian Progress," it is highly probable that he found his bodily strength diminished; and that he anticipated a speedy dismissal from works to rewards. It is not easy to imagine a state of human existence more desirable than that in which this Christian labourer appears to have been at the date of the preceding paragraph. In his seventy-fifth year, looking with peaceful retrospect on a life conscientiously devoted to what he believed to be the will of his Creator, and the service of his fellow creatures; and forward with humble but certain hope to that glory, in comparison of which all the sufferings he had endured for Christ's sake were not worthy to be named. He was destined, however, to remain for twelve years more in this state of being, and was enabled to employ even the last remains of his bodily strength, in his accustomed religious and civil services. Many of those who had been his contemporaries in the early labours of the Society had been removed from their labours; and there were no doubt many occasions occurring, in which the advice and counsel of so experienced a veteran as George Whitehead, would be of essential service to the cause he was so anxious to promote; and the subject of liberty of conscience appears to have continued deeply to interest him.

George Whitehead has not noticed in his memoirs the death of king William, or the accession of queen

* To the original work of George Whitehead, a Supplement was appended by the Editor, from which I have taken most of the particulars mentioned in this notice of the last twelve years of his life.

Anne. The former circumstance could not but be one of the most mournful kind, to all the enemies of religious persecution; and to none more than to the Quakers. It is quite evident from the circumstances just mentioned, that in his liberal and enlightened views, he far outrun the age in which he lived, and the people over whom he ruled. William and Mary may be said to have planted the tree of religious liberty in England; in their reign was the first act of parliament made "*for the ease of scrupulous consciences;*" and the debt of gratitude due to William, as the instrument under Divine Providence of the ease which they enjoyed, was, there is good reason to believe, *deeply felt* by the Society of Friends.

On his safe return from Holland in the year 1701, and on the settlement of the crown of England in the protestant line, the Society thought it right to address him with their grateful acknowledgments and congratulations. Well might they say: "We, thy dutiful subjects, sincerely express our joy for thy safe return to thy people. We have great cause to love, honour, and pray for thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath promoted and principled for the good ends of government; under whose reign we enjoy great mercies and favours, and particularly that of liberty to tender consciences in religious worship." Nor would it be with less sincerity, that in the following year, 1702, on presenting an address to the queen on her accession to the throne, they said: "We cannot but be sorrowfully affected with a deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of our late king William the III. whom God made the instrument of much good to these nations; a prince who indeed desired to be the common father of his people, and, as such, did by his great example as well as precept, endeavour to unite them in interest and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender consciences; by all which, his reign was adorned to the renown of his memory."

George Whitehead, in company with some other

Friends, appears to have presented both these addresses.

I do not find any record of his proceedings during the few years of queen Anne's reign, which followed the close of his own narrative, except in a work published in conjunction with William Mead in the year 1712, under the title of "The people called Quakers truly represented, and vindicated from some mistakes in the representation of the Lower House of Convocation:" to which was added, a reply to a persecuting pamphlet against the Quakers and the toleration. This work will be found in the Appendix. It is evident from it that the spirit of persecution was far from extinguished. A bigotted zeal for the hierarchy, and a corresponding aversion to all dissenters, manifested itself in various ways, and especially in the law *against occasional conformity*, and that *against the growth of schism*. The latter act was designed to prevent dissenters from keeping schools, and virtually to take out of the parents' hands their natural right in the care and education of their own children. The Society of Friends presented a strong but respectful remonstrance against it, and it met with great opposition in both houses of parliament. It was nevertheless carried and received the royal assent, but on the very day on which this act was to have become the law of England, Anne, the last of the Stuart dynasty, expired. A change of measures immediately took place under the mild reign of George I.; and on his accession to the throne in the year 1714, George Whitehead presented to him, in company with a number of other Friends, a congratulatory address; which having been read, he addressed the king to the following effect.

"Thou art welcome to us, king George. We heartily wish thee health and happiness, and thy son the prince also. King William the Third was an happy instrument in putting a stop to persecution, by promoting toleration; which being intended for uniting the king's protestant subjects in interest and affection, it

hath so far that effect as to make them more kind to one another, even among the different persuasions, than they were when persecution was on foot. We desire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, is according to our principle and practice."

Having a desire to see the prince of Wales, and intimating it to a nobleman who was gentleman to the prince's bed chamber, he was introduced with several of his friends into a chamber where the prince met them; and George Whitehead addressed him as follows:

"We take it as a favour that we are thus admitted to see the prince of Wales, and are truly very glad to see thee. Having delivered our address to the king thy royal father, and being desirous to give thyself a visit in true love, we very heartily wish health and happiness to you both; and that if it should please God thou shouldst survive thy father and come to the throne, thou mayst enjoy tranquillity and peace, &c.

"I am persuaded, that if the king thy father and thyself do stand for toleration, for liberty of conscience to be kept inviolable, God will stand by you.

"May king Solomon's choice of wisdom be thy choice, with holy Job's integrity and compassion to the oppressed; and the state of the righteous ruler commended by king David, viz., 'He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.'"

It is said that the good old man's address was well received by the prince.

In the year 1715, on occasion of the rebellion, George Whitehead and one of his friends obtained admission to the king, and presented to him a paper; a copy of which was found among his manuscripts after his decease.

"A few words in true love to king George, humbly presented.

"Seeing our most gracious God hath been pleased, by his overruling power and providence, to give thee a free and peaceable accession to the throne of these kingdoms; O let thy trust and confidence be in the same Divine Power, and thy eye to that Light and Grace thereby given thee, and the Lord will no doubt confound thy foes, and disperse and expel that dark cloud and spirit of rebellion that is risen up against thee and thy lawful government, constituted for the defence and support of our just liberties and properties, religious and civil, against popery and slavery.

"Thy Christian principle for liberty to tender consciences being maintained and stood by, against persecution the pillar of popery, the Lord will stand by and defend thee and thy royal offspring; for surely, 'mercy and truth do preserve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy.' Remember what the Spirit of the Lord spake by king David in his last words: 'He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning, even a morning without clouds,' &c.

"The Lord the God of hosts be thy defence, thy Guide, and Counsellor, and replenish thy heart with his wisdom, whereby kings reign and princes decree justice; for in that wisdom true dominion stands.

"That thou, O king, mayst be a blessing in the hand of the Lord to these nations, and enjoy a safe, a peaceable, and prosperous reign in this life, and a crown of righteousness in that to come, is the hearty prayer of an ancient servant of Jesus Christ, and

"A truly loving and faithful subject,

"GEORGE WHITEHEAD."

"London, the 25th of the 8th month, called October, 1715."

In the following year, at the age of eighty, he again waited on the king with a deputation from the Society

to present to him a congratulatory address on the suppression of the rebellion. He introduced the address to the king, by a speech which proved that he still preserved his faculties and his loyalty. It was to the following effect.

"That in their annual assembly, held for the religious concerns of their Society, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion professed by them, the sense of the great deliverance had such a weight upon their minds, that they were willing to express it in an address to king George, whom God by his providence had brought hither and preserved, so that he could well say, he was George by the grace of God, king of Great Britian, &c. And that as men carried that saying stamped on the money in their pockets, so it was to be wished it might be imprinted in the hearts of the subjects."

Though George Whitehead had now become very feeble in body, yet he continued to attend the meetings of his friends both for religious worship and for discipline; bearing his testimony "to the virtue and excellency of that Divine Grace, which had supported him from his youth upward; imparting in most sensible expressions such choice fruits of his own experiences, that an attentive hearer could not depart unedified. And even in meetings about Church affairs, where sometimes diversity of sentiments may arise, he would express his thoughts with a convincing force and solidity of reasoning, no less admirable than the unspotted integrity of his grey hairs was honourable."

When in his eighty-sixth year he wrote a lively address to his friends, which was printed and circulated amongst them. He died in great peace in the year 1722–3, at the age of eighty-seven.*

* For the account of his close, see "Introduction," *p.* 29, of vol. I.

APPENDIX.

I. A Christian Epistle to Friends in General.

II. The people called Quakers truly represented, and vindicated from some mistakes in the lower house of convocation, &c. &c.

III. The Christian Doctrine and Society of the People called Quakers, &c. &c.

APPENDIX.

A CHRISTIAN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN GENERAL.

Dated the 28th of 7th mo. 1689.

Dear and tenderly beloved Friends and called of God, every where;

In a real and deep sense of my Heavenly Father's love and tender mercy, revealed through his most dear Son, our ever blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which I am, with many more, livingly made a partaker of, doth my life and spirit very dearly and tenderly salute you, as truly and most heartily wishing and praying, that divine grace, mercy, and peace, with all spiritual blessings and divine favours in Christ Jesus may be encreased and multiplied among you and unto you, to your great consolation, peace, and prosperity in the love of God.

Dear Friends, finding for some time of late a living and holy constraint and pressure of spirit, to communicate some things of weight and concern unto you respecting your safety, peace, and prosperity in the blessed unchangeable Truth, I am opened and encouraged by the precious Life and Spirit of our God, to be clear and free therein towards you all, and that in discharge of my tender conscience, in the sight and presence of the God of my life, whom I serve with my spirit in the Gospel of his dear Son, as I have sincerely done from my youth upward: blessed be his pure name for ever!

And having had these many years' experience in the

weighty service of the Lord our God, through manifold exercises, burdens, spiritual travails, and oppositions, I may not hide my talent, nor conceal those things my Lord and Master requires me to divulge for the safety and good of his people, in their several conditions, states, and attainments, as having long and truly seen the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, and the good and blessed estate of his chosen and faithful ones; for which I praise the name of the Lord my Redeemer, in whom I have believed through his divine goodness, never to be forgotten by any of us; as also being not ignorant of or unacquainted with the many wiles, various workings, and depths of Satan, the great adversary of man's felicity and of the peace of God's people, who worketh upon the divers inclinations, mutable affections, wills, weaknesses, and infirmities of the sons of men, to deceive, pervert, deprave, and corrupt them, that they may the more easily be led captive by him at his will, in their following their own unsubjected wills and spirits.

You therefore, my dear Friends, who have livingly felt and tasted of the Lord's power and goodness, and known his work in your hearts, in order to your deliverance and redemption out of the evil world and the corruptions thereof, prize his tender mercies and goodness, and forget them not. Let the holy fear of the Lord God be your treasure, and true wisdom and understanding the stability of your times in righteousness. Let your sincere love to the pure name and Truth of the Lord, and one unto another, be continued in that unchangeable truth and power of an Endless Life, whereunto the Lord hath called us; and I pray God increase your love and zeal for his glorious name, and Christian tenderness, and brotherly affection one towards another, that life for ever more may be your blessing and portion; as it will be to all them who dwell in amity, true love, and unity of spirit in our Lord Jesus Christ, which is a most joyful, comfortable, and blessed state; which too many professors of Truth are short of for want of

keeping near to the Lord, in his holy fear, and love of his blessed name and Truth; whose negligence and unfaithfulness to Truth in themselves, hath caused a decay of love and want of charity towards others; and then, instead of humbly waiting and depending upon the Lord, some have exalted themselves in a self-will, self-conceit, and affection to preeminence in judgment over others, until thereby divisions and self-separations have been caused and stirred up by them, to the great grief of the spirits of the upright, who have kept their integrity to the Lord, his Truth, and people. And this self-exaltation, slighting, and contemning others, have been and are the great evils, snares, and engines wherewith the adversary catches them that never were thoroughly subjected into true humility, mortification, true self-denial or dying with Christ. Such, though under profession of Truth, may make a great show and flourish for a time in outward appearance, leaves, and blossoms, yet they bring not forth fruit unto perfection or ripeness in Christ. Therefore beware of self-exaltation, beware of an earthy spirit entering, beware of covetousness which is idolatry; let not the earth interpose betwixt any of your souls, and the brightness of that divine glory which has appeared even in our day and times.

Spiritual gifts may be lost or fallen short of, if the Fountain of them, the Holy Spirit of Life itself, be not diligently minded and followed; and where love towards God and his Truth decays in any, their love towards his servants and people grows cold; and then their gifts decrease and die, as the life of them is withdrawn or departed from, or that love lost which is the more excellent way: "For if I want charity [or love] I am nothing." What gifts, openings, discoveries, visions, revelations, wisdom, knowledge, or understanding soever any have, yet still it is the heavenly Root must bear them, they must keep low their minds and spirits to that from whence life and love springs; or else they fall, wither, die, and become empty, uncharitable, and hard-hearted; and there the enemy has his evil ends upon

them, in betraying them and corrupting their minds from the Truth, from life, from love, from the innocency and simplicity which is in Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and there is a danger in being too early and forward to censure and judge others, and in judging, censuring, and undervaluing others' gifts, ministry, and labours, whom God hath called into his work and service; for some thereby may either lose their own gifts, life, and strength, or fall short of those heavenly gifts which otherwise they might attain to, if they kept low and tender in humility, love, and society with their brethren; whereby they might also be serviceable with them. For I have seen in my time some, who never passed through judgment in themselves, yet very censorious, judging, detracting, and whispering against their brethren, slighting them, their ministry, and labours, who themselves have greatly lost by it; and God in displeasure hath suffered them to discover their own weakness and nakedness, for their own abasement under the righteous judgment of Truth. And it is evident that from this kind of exalted, censorious, whispering, and envious spirit, which worketh not for love and union, have proceeded the several divisions, schisms, and separations which have happened, to the great trouble of the Church of Christ in our days, as in the primitive Christians' days.

And the several sorts of apostates and backsliders from Truth, show what and what kind and manner of spirit they went and go out in, by their works and fruits, whether in a spirit of pride and ambition, in a spirit of envy and hypocrisy, in a scornful contemning spirit, in a covetous earthly spirit, in a loose profane spirit, or in a drunken debauched spirit of ranterism and fleshly liberty, which come all from one evil root and seed, according to the various corrupt inclinations and wills of men, upon which the enemy works, and appears with baits and temptations suitable thereunto, that he may prevail the more. And it is certain, that the envious apostates and wilful adversaries, were the

most troublesome to the primitive Churches of Christ and his holy apostles in their day, and so in ours. Therefore blessed and truly happy are they who keep their habitations in the Truth and love of God, and live in Christian love and charity one towards another; for such walk in the light, where there is no occasion of stumbling or scandal.

And as it was evidence unto the primitive Christians, that they were passed from death to life because they loved the brethren, and that they had purified their souls through their obedience of the Holy Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren; even so now the same evidence and testimony remains and lives in and for all them that dwell in the love of God one towards another: for all envy, prejudice, back bitings, whisperings, tale carrying, lying, heats, passions, provocations, reviling, railing, clamours, scorn, contempt, ill language, flattery, and hypocrisy are to be utterly put away, avoided, judged, condemned, and for ever excluded the camp of God; for they proceed from the false and degenerate birth, evil seed and spirit, and not from the true seed or birth; which is innocent and hurts no body by word or action, in person, name, reputation, or property; for that is tender in all these things. For false reports, whisperings, backbitings, and tale carrying cause strife and division, and are condemned by the law of God and Light of Christ, and expressly forbidden by God himself: "Thou shalt not be as one that carries tales up and down among my people: thou shalt not receive a false tale, nor raise a false report against the Lord's people, nor do his prophets or servants any harm."

And all who profess the Truth, or make mention of the name of the Lord among us, ought to watch over their own spirits, wills, and passions, and have a care of hurting one another, or crushing any tender spirit or plant, or stopping or quenching any spiritual gift or testimony God has given, how little or low soever it may be or seem; for some of a tender spirit are sooner hurt

and wounded than healed. All keep in Christian humility, meekness, patience, gentleness, and tender heartedness one towards another. And elders and overseers in the churches of Christ must be examples of believers, both in humility, meekness, patience, and condescension, as Christian patterns; and not self-willed, nor soon angry, nor given to passion, striving, heats, or contention. Such Christian example and behaviour in the house and church of the living God, tend greatly to keep out and prevent contentions and contentious spirits, and to the comfort and encouragement of the upright hearted, who are willing to serve the Lord, his Truth, and people.

My dear Friends! the Lord our God has been good to us; a tender Father through all our trials, sufferings, and exercises, in upholding us by his free Spirit, accompanying us with his presence, comforting us in our afflictions with his renewed mercies and multiplied favours, in preserving us a living people to his praise until this day, and affording us this present liberty we have of late enjoyed, and do partake of the benefit and advantage thereof, in our public, peaceable and religious assemblies for the exaltation of the glorious name, holy Truth, and divine power of the Lord our God. Wherefore we have great cause to prize his tender mercies and goodness to us, and walk humbly under the sense thereof, that a right use and improvement may be made of all the mercies and privileges we do enjoy, and such a good use of the present liberty, as that none grow careless or negligent, indifferent or lukewarm, because thereof, nor any sit down at ease in the flesh or in the earth, and therein promise themselves security from further sufferings or trials, because of the late and present enjoyment of liberty and ease from persecution. This is no good use of the present mercy, nor safe conclusion; for God has many ways to try his people; and national calamities and distresses, whereof his own people sometimes partake, are not at an end, nor the judgments incurred by iniquity turned away, because of the

continued provocations, wickedness, rebellions against God, their abominations, pride, hypocrisies, deceits, falsehood, and presumption, abounding in this and other professing nations against the great and righteous God, the Judge of all, who is so long sparing and forbearing as He is to this nation, merely for his small remnant and seed's sake, which is already gathered and to be gathered.

Yet the great God will distress nations, and cause the earth to tremble before Him, and overturnings and desolations in the earth before calamities are ended, or Christ's peaceable kingdom be set up more generally in the earth, or where as yet it is opposed and resisted; for the cause why wars, desolations, and the devouring sword are already in great judgment entered so many nations and countries, is because of the crying sins, great provocations, persecutions, and cruelties in the dark places of the earth.

And, dear Friends, brethren and sisters, whom I truly love in the Lord, who retain your integrity and love in the blessed, unchangeable Truth, you cannot be insensible how that the Lord's harvest is great, and what need of faithful labourers there now is; an effectual door being open in this time of liberty, the Lord in mercy has granted for the good of many poor souls, that they may come and receive the Truth in the love of it; and that they who have been or are of a fearful heart, may receive strength and know the Lord to be their Saviour and Redeemer, in this his evangelical day, and free and blesssed opportunity He has afforded. And yet, though this harvest be great, the diligent and faithful labourers are but few now raised up, in comparison of the greatness of the harvest and necessity of the work; many of our ancient brethren and faithful fellow labourers and helpers in Christ being taken away, and gone to their everlasting rest, having faithfully served out their day and generation, fulfilled and finished their testimony with joy and peace, and obtained a crown of glory that shall never fade away.

And this very matter has been often seriously upon my thoughts and weighty considerations, what should be the cause or reason why so few faithful labourers and clear Gospel ministers, have been of late raised up or are now brought forth; though some have a good lively testimony, blessed be the Lord! And it clearly appears to me, first, that few are given up in their spirits for this weighty service, as we were in the beginning, who are in some measure gifted and qualified.

Secondly, few sincerely seek the Lord, or have waited upon Him with fervent desires, prayer, and supplication, that they may be gifted, indued, and qualified with power, wisdom, faith, patience, &c. for the work of the ministry of Christ Jesus; whereas, if any man want wisdom he should ask it of God; and he shall not miss of a gracious answer to the desire of his soul, who sincerely asks, seeks, and knocks at Wisdom's gate: "Whatsoever ye ask in my name," saith Christ, "believe that ye shall receive it, and it shall be given you." You know Solomon's request to the Lord for an understanding heart to discern judgment, his choice of wisdom rather than riches or long life, how it pleased God. i *Kings* iii. 10.

Thirdly, very few have their minds and spirits really and inwardly exercised in frequent prayer and daily supplication to God, or in heavenly meditation, or spiritual contemplation in God's pure and spiritual laws, ways, judgments, and works, or in Holy Scriptures by the Holy Spirit which opens them; but too many have their minds, hearts, and affections taken up with these fading objects and things below, minding earthly things, being overcharged with the love of riches, cares, and cumbers of this life, to compass the earth, wherein many a good talent has been hid, and poor soul buried in captivity. Whereas it requires an inward and serious exercise of spirit toward God, frequent and fervent prayer and supplication, unto Him, an inward and diligent attention upon Him, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, to obtain both Divine wisdom and

a weighty, living, clear, evangelical ministry. For the sanctified hearts and souls who truly fear God, are those into whom only wisdom entereth, and maketh them friends of God, and prophets. The Lord will have an inward, spiritual, sincere, and zealous people. Oh! inward watchfulness, prayer, and supplication to Almighty God have been and are too much neglected by many; I pray God they may seriously examine, and find out the causes in themselves with the Light of Christ Jesus, and bring all to the righteous judgment thereof.

Fourthly, if any of the younger sort, who are in some measure imbued with spiritual gifts and knowledge, do let up a slight and disesteem in their minds of their elder brethren, who are experienced in the work and service of God, and keep not in society or union with them in the spirit of love and of a sound mind, but give way unto a singularity, abounding in their own sense, not keeping low and humble before the Lord, nor little in their own eyes; such neither grow in life, nor in Divine openings, nor increase in their gifts, nor come to attain to a weighty, clear, evangelical ministry and service; but rather lose, die, and wither, unless they come into true humility, self-denial, reconciliation, love, and union with their elder faithful brethren; who, in the love of God, would tenderly help them, and not hinder them in the work and service of the Lord our God.

It is both a great grief and scandal also, to see many of the younger sort who frequent our meetings, and even of Friends' children also, degenerating into pride, and height of spirit and apparel, so nearly to imitate and border upon the world as too many do, contrary to the gravity, modesty, sobriety, plainness, simplicity, innocency, and humility, which Truth requires, in example as well as in spirit, and which Truth at first led many into; and as still it doth lead and order them that truly love and obey it: in which I pray God to settle and order his people, and that no plea nor excuse may be

made to maintain pride, vanity, or immodesty in apparel, which only gratifies vain airy minds and spirits, and the lust of the carnal eye, and grieves the tender, and gives occasion of reproach and stumbling to them that are without, and to such as are soberly and religiously inclined. O! it is precious to keep low and humble before the Lord, and to walk as living examples of Christian humility; a lowly mind is content with low things, and loves plainness.

And this is observable, that if never so much be truly and sincerely preached in public against pride and vanity in apparel, &c. if it be indulged or connived at home in children or young persons, by parents, guardians, or overseers, all preaching, instruction, and warning proves to them but as water spilt upon the ground, and makes no impression; whilst through such encouragement and indulgence at home, they embrace a spirit of pride and irreverence towards God, and disregard to his truth and people; and though some formality and something of the form of Truth, they may have by outward education, it is not by the work of regeneration; for there are but few in comparison that really come in at that door; and therefore I have had often a godly fear upon me of the springing up of degenerate plants amongst us, and a degenerate generation to the dishonour of Truth and our holy profession, after our days.

And it is they who are inclining and getting into the spirit of the world, and liberty out of the Truth, who live not in humility nor in the fear of God, that give secret strength to an apostate turbulent spirit, which has been the Church's exercise of late years, and that are most easily catched with that apostate spirit, and feigned words of the instruments thereof, whose work is to sow discord, and make divisions, schisms, and separations, which are fruits of the flesh; for if all had been faithful to the Light, and kept in humility and love of Truth and one another, there had been no enmity one towards another, nor smiting of fellow servants;

but the fear of God would have preserved them out of those snares of death, which that spirit of discord leads into.

Howbeit, I am well satisfied in the Lord, that He will never suffer a general or final apostacy or degeneration; the brightness of our day, and glory of our Sun of righteousness shall never be extinguished; although too many, through the adversary's subtilty and temptations, together with their own carnal and corrupt inclinations, are apt to degenerate, and their minds to be exalted and alienated from the fear of God, from the cross of Christ, from humility and lowliness of mind, from true and conscientious tenderness, from love to the brethren, from innocency, plainness, and simplicity that is in Christ, both in their spirits, language, and habits, who therefore ought to be faithfully admonished and tenderly instructed; by which means, together with a meek and gentle behaviour, many have been gained and many may yet be recovered out of the snares of satan, who have been taken captive at unawares; "having compassion of some, making a difference," has often reached the tender part in them: and in relation to others more deeply prejudiced, I remember a cautious saying of an ancient and faithful brother deceased, viz. "Where we cannot make them better, we must take heed we do not make them worse." The Lord keep his people in his holy fear, watchful and humble before Him, in true love and tender heartedness; that they may receive wisdom from Him to behave themselves, and to minister suitably to all conditions.

And all dear and tenderly beloved Friends, with all who are effectually convinced of God's holy Truth and name, and do profess the same; in the holy fear of God, in his Light watch and pray constantly, without fainting, against your soul's subtil adversary, in all his attempts to beget into self-exaltation and prejudice, to smite fellow servants and cause divisions or offences; for that is the enemy's work.

And, Friends, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus

Christ with respect of persons; this was ancient and Christian counsel. So let not the rich and high contemn the low and mean; let not uncertain riches puff up any, or exalt them above their brethren; nor any brother of high degree in earthly enjoyments, slight or contemn their brethren of low degree. Some sincere hearted and serviceable Friends and brethren have enjoyed plenty of the world's goods, and yet through losses, sufferings, disappointments, or others' unjust dealings by them, are brought low in the world; and who were esteemed when in prosperity. It would be very unchristian and sinful to slight or disesteem them in their adversity, which is their trial. The poor of this world who are rich in faith, whom God hath chosen, are near unto Him; their faith is the more tried by their poverty and lowness, and how soon that may be the trial of many that are rich, they know not; therefore it is very unsafe for any to trust in uncertain riches, or to be exalted or lifted up because of them; they should rather humbly depend upon the living God, and trust in Him, and love and esteem their brethren in Truth, how mean and low soever in this world, knowing that with God there is no respect of persons, nor with them who truly bear his image.

And pray, Friends, keep out all disputes and controversies, which some busy spirits in the world are incident unto, as about outward revolutions, governments, state affairs, and kingdoms of this world. Let not their divisions divide you, nor their strife and contentions about the outward court and forms of religion, earthly kingdoms and crowns that will fade, influence any among you to contend or become parties about them; but quietly serve and wait upon God in your places and stations where He hath set you, and submissively leave all to his overruling power, wisdom, and providence, to do or suffer things to come to pass as He pleaseth; for none may say to Him: "What dost Thou?" though men may be warned as God shall require. And He knows what is best for his people, and

will cause all things to work together for good to them that love Him: his kingdom come more and more, his blessed will be done in heaven and earth, who is Judge of all, and sees all hearts, intents, and designs of men throughout the whole world. And you know that we cannot make flesh our arm, nor therewith fight for one or another; stillness and quietness, innocency and good-will towards all men according to our Christian principle, is therefore the best and safest state and condition, wherein we all may approve ourselves as the Lord's hidden ones, and as of them that are quiet in the land.

Be still, and know that the Lord is God, and that He will be exalted in his everlasting kingdom and dominion over all the kingdoms of men; neither let the world's confusions confound you, nor the world's distractions distract you, or any of you, nor the removing of mountains in the earth remove you from the Lord's mountain, nor the unstable waters or tossing waves, toss you, or influence any of you, to discompose or hurry you from your peaceable habitations; but keep in your Strong Hold, your Rock, and Foundation, Christ Jesus; nor let any thing divert you from minding his kingdom of peace above all, which is not of this world; out of which men's lusts and the ground and occasion of wars and fighting are excluded; for in Salem is his tabernacle.

O! let all quietly wait upon the all-seeing, righteous, holy God, in order to see his good end through all, and his righteous determination and decision of the controversies amongst men. And keep in innocency and peaceable conversation towards all, and inoffensively under and towards the civil government, giving no real occasion of offence; but, as becomes true Christians, walk in love and good will towards all, both high and low; for herein hath been and will be our safety and confidence through all our trials, being preserved by the power and goodness of the Lord our God, as his peculiar people, who is our Stay, our Rock, and Re-

fuge: blessed be his name for ever! O! forget not to praise the Lord, for all his tender mercies and peculiar favours and goodness in our preservation until this day; knowing also, that they who sincerely and steadfastly trust in his name and power, shall be as mount Sion that shall never be removed; and that as his servant David declared: "It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in man: it is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes," *Ps.* cxviii. 8, 9; I pray God keep all his people in a steady dependance upon Him, and confidence in Him to the end.

Finally, my tenderly beloved Friends and brethren, having thus far cleared my conscience in the sight of God, in the living sense of his presence and counsel in these matters, as relating to several states and dangers, I recommend all to the faithful and true Witness in themselves, to make the particular and just application, and to make every one sensible of the weight and lively impressions of these and all other Christian cautions and warnings, proceeding from thence through any of the servants of Christ, for the safety and peace of all the Lord's people among us; even to the least and lowest of his flock, and those convinced among us, who are called by his grace to the confession of his holy name and Truth.

The God of peace be with you all and bless you, and encrease righteousness, peace, love, and union among his people every where, that all may be steadfast in the Truth, true and faithful in their day and time, to the end of their days: amen, amen.

Your faithful friend and brother in Christ,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

London, the 28th of
the 7th mo. 1689.

THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS

TRULY REPRESENTED

*And vindicated from some Mistakes, wherein they are misrepresented in the Representation of the Lower House of Convocation.**

Printed in the year 1712.

Part X.

Seeing it is not unknown that we, the said people, profess faith in God the Father, and in his dear eternal Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, One God

* Perhaps the following note may be acceptable to some readers. The Convocation of the English clergy, at least that of the province of Canterbury, had in ancient times considerable power. It determined the taxation to be paid by the clergy, enacted ecclesiastical canons, and was consulted by the government on important matters affecting the national profession of religion. Their power having been much abridged, they had been very inactive for some time; when, subsequently to the revolution in 1688, the party most opposed to the new order of things, "sedulously propagated a doctrine, that the Convocation ought to be advised with upon all questions affecting the church, and ought even to watch over its interests, as the parliament did over those of the kingdom." By this means the activity of the clergy, and especially of the high church party was stirred up in these synods; and as they had been chiefly promoted by those who were most favourable to arbitrary civil power and ecclesiastical domination, so their proceedings were characterized by the same spirit: and it is worthy of notice, that whilst fulminating against the poor Quakers, and those great principles of religious liberty which now pass for incontrovertible truisms, the Lower House distinguished itself by the most factious

blessed for ever more; and that we do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine Inspiration, according as expressed in the Act of Exemption or Toleration, anno primo Gulielmi et Mariæ, which being legally provided, and by us sincerely and publicly owned to authority, and one condition of our present and religious liberty; we think it very hard and undue measure, as well as uncharitable, to be joined either with Socinians or Arians, and branded with "infidelity, damnable errors," which you say have been "embraced and propagated by the sect of Quakers, whom, in several of their treatises, catechisms, and primers, have taught the rudiments of Christian faith in such a manner, as to make it seem to be little more than a complicated system of deism and enthusiasm;" to which is added, "from the wicked principles thus disseminated, as wicked practices have followed."

Unto all which we sincerely and humbly answer:

I. We know nothing, in point of Christian doctrine and principle, more openly and apparently asserted and propagated by the said people called Quakers, than the Divinity of Christ, and essential union of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This holy and blessed Scripture Trinity we have always stood for, in real faith and practice.

II. The Divinity of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that He is the Eternal Word, the true God, as well as truly man; being expressly agreeable to Holy Scripture testimony, viz. *that he is the Mighty

spirit, and especially by insolence towards the bishops who were less bigotted, and whom while pretending to assert the Divine right of episcopacy, they laboured to deprive of their lawful preeminence in the Anglican synod. "In the ferment of that age," says Hallam, "it was expedient for the state to scatter a little dust over the angry insects; the Convocation was accordingly prorogued in 1717, and has never again sat for any business." *Const. Hist.* Vol. III.

* Isa. ix. 6.

God, &c. *the Eternal Word, whereby all things were made; †who is over all, God blessed for ever: ‡God created all things by Jesus Christ; §who is the true God and Eternal Life; by whom also the worlds were made; the Divine ‖three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are One.

The blessed Trinity in the unity of Divine Essence, is manifest in the wonderful works of God, both in the old and new creation, and the mystery thereof revealed and experienced in the new birth.

III. Thus we sincerely believe and confess the Divinity and Deity of the Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus, with respect to his being the Eternal Word, which was in the ¶beginning; **before Abraham was; ††from Everlasting; ‡‡glorified with the Father before the world began; and in respect to the fulness of the Godhead (yea, all fulness) §§dwelling in Him; and as ‖‖all power in heaven and earth is given unto Him; and as by whom also ¶¶God made the worlds.

All which seriously considered, thus to assert the glorious Divinity of the Son of God, cannot be inconsistent with his Divine wisdom, love, and great condescension in assuming the holy humanity, his pure and perfect manhood for our sakes, even for the redemption of mankind. "Without controversy, great is the mystery of Godliness," saith the apostle, 1 *Tim.* iii. 16, "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit," &c. And surely excellent is the mystery of Christ, and the true spiritual knowledge of Him, and his riches unsearchable. *Ephes.* iii. 4—9. 2 *Cor.* v. 16. *Col.* i. 27.

IV. The immortality of the soul of man, and the true notions and distinctions of good and evil, together with the just judgments and suitable rewards, whether

* John i.
§ Heb. i.
** John viii. 58.
§§ Col. i. 19. ii. 9.
† Rom. ix. 5.
‖ 1 John v. 7.
†† Mic. v. 2.
‖‖ Matt. xxviii. 18.
‡ Ephes. iii. 9.
¶ John i. 1—4.
‡‡ John xvii. 5.
¶¶ Heb. i. 2. xi. 3.

in this or the next life, we never deemed groundless or vain, as the ranters, corrupt libertines, and atheists have done and do: but constantly believe and assert the righteousness of God, in justifying the righteous and condemning the wicked: "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." 2 *Cor.* v. 10.

V. As to infidelity and damnable errors, &c. charged upon the Quakers; as we are not conscious to ourselves thereof, we do not find any colour of proof nor whence they originally arose; except from some persecuting adversaries' bitter invectives, or pamphlets of some apostates, who are gone out from us into enmity, and dissembling conformists, to ingratiate themselves into favour and credit with the Church of England, by perverting our principles and calumniating us and our Christian religion and Society. And we know no catechisms or primers owned or promoted among us, about the rules of the Christian faith, but such as are agreeable to Holy Scripture. Witness Robert Barclay's Catechism, and the Christian testimonies and answers of divers other approved authors among us, wherein the forementioned doctrines and principles of the Christian faith are sincerely asserted; although we have been greatly misrepresented by some of our adversaries' false and fictitious catechisms, in our names, mock dialogues and trials, and silly, idle romances, &c.

VI. Our embracing and confessing Christ Jesus, as the true Light which enlightens mankind, and the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit, under the New Covenant Dispensation, has been by some ignorant and anti-christian spirits, in contempt, rendered deism and enthusiasm, though the same be often prayed for and confessed in the liturgy of the church of England. And we hope our embracing those Christian principles, namely, that of the true Light, *John* i., Divine Inspiration, and being led by the Spirit of God, *John* xvi. 13, *Rom.* viii. 14, will not produce any wicked practices,

as dissolute behaviour, oaths, imprecations, growth of immorality, profaneness, drunkenness, and lewdness, &c. all which are utter abominations to our religious and Christian principles and Society; and therefore ought not to be imputed to us or our profession, as any cause thereof. But it is rather feared, that the ignorance, libertinism, and debauchery of too many of the priests in this nation, have in a great measure contributed thereunto; together with the former books, allowing sports and pastimes on the Sabbath day.

VII. It is very sad and lamentable, that infidelity, libertinism, and scepticism should so much abound and prevail in any Church professing Christianity, as in this nation where so much of religion and holiness of profession and conversation are pretended. But people's fruits must show whose plants and what trees they are.

VIII. We believe as you say, and it is matter of sorrow and grief of heart: "That one fountain from whence the corruptions of religion and morality have flowed, is on your theatres; and that things sacred and serious have been handled after the most ludicrous manner, &c.; and that on them obscenity, blasphemous allusions to Holy Writ, and various sorts of profaneness have abounded, &c.; and that the vicious images, painted to the life, have made such impressions on the minds of the young and unwary as are not easy to be defaced."

And the like account is given by the Upper House in their representation, viz. "That this profaneness hath been much increased by the licentiousness of the stage, where the worst examples have been recommended to imitation." And further, they propose to the queen, viz. "We entertain not the least doubt of your majesty's firm resolution to render the laws and proclamations, set forth for the suppression of immorality and profaneness, useful to that purpose, by an impartial and vigorous execution of them; and to reform the corruptions of the stage, which have been so instrumen-

tal in vitiating young and innocent minds, and given so just offence to all serious and devout Christians."

We heartily wish that what both your houses have proposed in this case last mentioned, may be truly pursued; so as the government may be prevailed upon totally to suppress, remove, and prohibit those stage plays and the actors of them, seeing they are of so irreligious and impious a tendency, and cause of ridiculing true religion and debauching youth. We are persuaded they are greatly offensive to God, and injurious to many poor souls; and we think it behoves you to enquire, if some of your priests do not resort to those play houses, especially of the younger sort, as is reported; and how culpable such are if they do. And whether it be not a great dishonour to your profession and function, for any of them to take the severest, most chargeable, and ruinous courses, in prosecuting divers of our Friends for small tithes, as unto imprisonments, sequestrations, &c. seeing they have a more easy way to recover them by late laws? Is not this severe course rather an indication of revenge, than of Christianity or humanity? And we think you cannot reasonably suppose, that such unmercifulness and oppressions will any ways redound or tend to the honour of your religion, church, or profession.

About restraining the press, so much pressed, there had need to be a just and equal care that it be not put into the power of any one party, to judge, stop, or license books, as they please; for therein may be great partiality and injustice, in permitting only books of their own party, if they relate to their religious persuasions, and stopping all others; and then many that may be unjustly defamed and grossly calumniated, and their principles perverted (as many have been served) by scandalous pamphlets, fictitious romances, and false dialogues, would not be suffered to answer in defence of themselves; which would be very unfair, partial, and unjust, if the press should be restrained only to a party. Yet it is very meet it should be so far restrained, as

not to be suffered to print either seditious news, or pamphlets against the government, or tending to introduce or promote vice, immorality, impiety, or profaneness; and that all licentious, obscene books and pamphlets, tending to deprave and vitiate youth, be stopped and suppressed.

To conclude, the premises seriously considered, we pray you be more charitable in your judgment towards us, and do as you would be done by; and not ready to credit or receive reproaches or calumnies against us, the said people, from invidious incendiaries, tending to raise persecution; for that would not tend to the glory of God, your honour, or inward peace.

We humbly hope the queen of Great Britain, (whom God preserve,) is better principled and more just, than to prejudge us upon injurious misrepresentations, or to receive evil reports or aspersions against us, who are her peaceable protestant subjects.

G. Whitehead.
W. Mead.

A BRIEF ENQUIRY

Upon an Invidious Book, or Pamphlet, styled, "A Winding-sheet for Quakerism;" lately delivered to the members of parliament; and also said to be "A brief enquiry into the toleration of the Quakers; by Edward Cockson," who styles himself M. A. Rector of Westcot Barton in the County of Oxon.

Together with a few Queries, proposed to the Lower House of Convocation, relating to the said book, seriously to consider of.

Part XX.

Whereas the design and scope of the said pretended Winding-sheet appears to be against the toleration, and to have the same taken away, especially from the people called Quakers in the first place, as being the principal objects of his envy and fury, the meaning thereof is, to take away the liberty of their conscience, respecting their religious exercise in the worship of God in their solemn assemblies, legally tolerated; which to deprive them of, would tend either to make them athiests, or hypocritical conformists; or rather, if that cannot be effected, to expose them to all such severities, penalties, and persecutions, as formerly they suffered deeply under; and not only so, but the same legal severities and sanguinary punishments, as, under the law of Moses, were provided against blasphemers of the name of God, false prophets, and other high offenders, are urged and applied against the said people, and as being still in force under the Gospel administration, p. 6. As if nothing would satisfy his fury, short of the utter destruction of the said people. And for what

cause alleged or pretended by him? Even for no less than heresies and blasphemies. Oh sad! And what are those chiefly, viz.

1. "That the professors of Quakerism prefer heathenism to true Christianity," p. 3.

Answer. That were a sad error and heresy indeed, to prefer heathenism to true Christianity, if we may take heathenism to be idolatry and impiety, as truly it is. But it is a gross falsehood and perversion against the people called Quakers, and not deducible from their writings, if justly quoted. For herein the man puts no difference between heathenism, and the gentile divinity professed, together with the piety and morality practised by many of the philosophers and others; both of which the Quakers have commended, not preferred to true Christianity, but as agreeable thereto, and included therein, against all false Christians and hypocrites, under the profession of Christianity, perverted and abused by their sin pleasing and sinners' indulging doctrines and corrupt conversations, who argue for continuance of sin the term of life, contrary to the divinity, piety, and Christianity found in divers heathen writers. This is the true state of the Quakers' case, in the point.

2. "As for us of the Church of England, their spite against us is most superlative," p. 3.

Answer. This is a great mistake; we do not hate any of their persons; no, not the priests, but their corrupt practices, covetousness, envy, pride, persecution, where found among them who persecute and imprison our Friends, and many times take away their goods to great excess; sometimes for a small value claimed.

3. "That their great Robert Barclay adviseth to have our glebes and tithes taken from us, and to put them into the public treasury for the payment of taxes: and declares, that this is the only way soundly to reform us," p. 4. Apol. p. 340.

Answer. A sad complaint! How hard would this pinch mercenary preachers! Yet we hope it will not

prove us heretics or guilty of heresy; no more than Christ's ministers were, in preaching the Gospel freely, as they had freely received and were commanded by Him.

And the apostle Paul was so much of Robert Barclay's mind, as that tithes and oblations, or offerings, were discontinued under the Gospel Dispensation, as being ended by Christ Jesus, the one Offering; and the priesthood that took tithes changed from Levi to Christ, who came of the tribe of Judah, not of Levi. And many of the protestant reformers and martyrs were also of the same judgment, against the payment of tithes under the Gospel and New Covenant Dispensation. And how strongly and clearly does the apostle argue this case, for Christ's ending the first priesthood and law of tithes and offerings! *Heb.* vii—x.

4. On *Heb.* x. 23. 28, 29, "The whole place," saith the rector, "seems chiefly to have respect to such heretics as deny Christ Jesus, and the efficacy of his blood, as it is plain the Quakers do," quoth he, p. 7.

Answer. Where is it plain, that the Quakers deny Christ Jesus, and the efficacy of his blood? I am sure such denial is expressly contrary to the principle and profession of the people called Quakers; and therefore this adversary might have been horribly ashamed to rank the said people among heretics, upon such notorious calumnies, thereby to render them incapable of the toleration, and consequently to expose them to severe persecutions and ruin.

5. "About the Sacred Trinity," he saith, "that the Quakers cannot, dare not honestly declare the same, in the same sense the compilers of the Act of Toleration understood the words, viz. That God the Father is a distinct person from Jesus Christ, and from the Holy Spirit; and that they are such a Three, as neither are, nor can be more or less than Three," p. 11.

Answer. We hope we are not justly chargeable with heresy, for confessing the blessed Trinity or Divine Three, in Holy Scripture terms, according as is declar-

ed in the said act, viz. "That we, the said people, do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, and in the Holy Spirit, One God blessed for ever."

Though this profession and confession has given satisfaction to the civil government, as being both Christian and scriptural, yet it does not satisfy the said rector; but he will needs make himself an expositor of the sense and understanding of the law-makers, p. 11, and would impose other terms than the law requires in the case. We think it very unfair and uncharitable, to be deemed guilty of heresy for not confessing our faith in unscriptural terms; while we confess the Eternal Deity in plain Scripture terms, also allowed of by act of parliament, as the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit, *Matt.* xxviii. 19. 1 *John* v. 7, and their union in the Divine Essence.

Observe, Edward Cockson, M. A. rector, so called, in order to have the people called Quakers punished, thus proceeds to instances, viz.

Page 5. "God hath imprinted it in the hearts of all mankind, to vindicate his honour, and to punish all that are under their jurisdiction who dishonour Him. Thus Artaxerxes, king of Persia, having granted to the Jews that were in his dominions, that as many of them as pleased might return with Ezra to Jerusalem, he thereupon makes a decree for the establishment of the true worship of the true God, &c. And mark what follows: 'Whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment,' *Ezra* vii. 13. 25, 26. And Ezra blessed God for this decree, and put it in execution accordingly," *Ezra* x. 7, 8.

Whereupon I query of the said Convocation, viz.

Query 1. How can this instance warrant or excuse persecution against peaceable dissenting protestants, either to death, banishment, confiscation of goods, or imprisonment, for worshipping the true God as per-

suaded in conscience, though differing in manner or form from that which is national!

2. Did not the said king of Persia grant free liberty of conscience to the Jews, to worship the God of heaven as it was imprinted in their hearts, or they persuaded according to his laws? Where was then any compulsion to the contrary, so as to enforce them to any national worship of the Persians or other nations?

3. And was not Artaxerxes, king of Persia, both charitable and generous to Israel, in granting them such free liberty as that as many of them as were minded, of their own free will, should go up to Jerusalem with Ezra? Also affording them great accommodation and encouragement, *Ezra* vii.; as also did Cyrus, king of Persia, before him, *chap.* i.

4. And did not the Lord put it into the hearts of these great kings, to grant this free religious liberty and encouragement unto his people?

5. And did they not therein excel all persecuting kings and emperors, and all such priests as would incense rulers to persecute us for our religion and conscience towards God!

6. But will nothing serve or please your rector now, against the Quakers, but either the penalty of death, or banishment, or confiscation of goods, or imprisonment? These have been tried already, in great measure, for their peaceable, religious, and solemn assemblies; though the said king of Persia could never intend those penalties against Israel for their religion or worship, having so greatly encouraged them therein.

Rector, p. 6. "He only who was supreme was properly custos utriusque tabulæ, to him was committed the care to punish murderers, adulterers, and thieves, &c. and also idolaters, blasphemers, false prophets, &c. none of which he was to tolerate, but to root them out of his dominions, *Exod.* xxii. 18, 20. *Deut.* xiii. 1, 2, 3, 5. xvii. 2–7, 12. *Lev.* xxiv. 16, with many other places. Now that these commands are obligatory to Christian magistrates, under the Gospel administration also, will

appear if we consider, 1st, That none of them were ever revoked, repealed, or cancelled by Christ or any of his apostles. 2ndly, Ratio immutabilis facit præceptum immutabile, the very same reasons for which these commandments were at first given, remain still and are as strong as ever. Blasphemies, idolatries, and false prophecies are the same sins still, and God is the same God still, and hates these sins as much now as ever."

Whereupon I enquire of the Convocation:

Q. 1. Are you of the same judgment or opinion with your rector, that blasphemers and false prophets and false teachers are to be stoned to death by Christian magistrates, under the Gospel administration, as blasphemers and false prophets were under the law of Moses, *Deut.* xiii. quoted by the rector? And must Gospel ministers now be judges in cases of life and death, as priests were then? *Deut.* xvii. 9-12.

Rector, p. 7. "And God has the same power to punish now as ever. If therefore God hath at any time forbidden those sins, He forbids them still; and the same punishments that by his command were once to be inflicted for them, are still to be inflicted, till they are by Him revoked or altered; for where the same causes for the same punishments are perpetual, there the same punishments ought to be perpetual also."

2. Note, under the administration of the law of Moses, and Old Covenant, not only false prophets, blasphemers, and idolaters, &c. but also sabbath-breakers, rebellious sons to their parents, as drunkards, riotous persons, whoremongers, and adulterers, were to be stoned to death, *Lev.* xx. 2. xxiv. 14, 15. *Numb.* xv. 35, 36. *Deut.* xiii. 5, 10. xvii. 5, xxi. 21. and xxii. 21, 24.

3. Are you of the same judgment with your rector in these cases, that all such offenders as mentioned should be stoned to death, under the Gospel administration, by Christian magistrates?

4. And would it not affect and somewhat thin your own society or Church, to have all whoremongers and

adulterers, rebellious sons and false teachers stoned to death? And would not that make sad and bloody work in the land? Or would that be the way to convert such offenders, or send them to heaven?

5. Has your rector in these cases preached like a minister of Christ, of the Gospel or New Testament?

6. Did our blessed Lord Jesus Christ give sentence against the woman taken in adultery, that she should be stoned to death? Or rather did He not show more mercy to her than her accusers and persecutors would have done, when He convicted and silenced them, and said unto her: "Hath no man condemned thee?" "No, Lord," said she. "Neither do I condemn thee," said He; "go and sin no more," *John* viii. 3–11.

Rector, p. 7. "The New Testament is so far from repealing those laws, (that is, of the Old,) that it rather more strongly enforces them. For the apostle having exhorted us to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, &c. *Heb.* x. 23–27, he adds, *ver.* 28, 29: "He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God," &c. The whole place seems to have respect to such heretics as deny Christ Jesus, and the efficacy of his blood, as it is plain the Quakers do," &c.

Q. 1. What sorer punishment would your rector have inflicted upon the Quakers than death?

Note, but he is a false accuser and an unjust judge therein, and this charge against the Quakers mentioned, is utterly false, and contrary to our Christian principle, of our love and respect to our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and his precious blood, &c.

2. But if we were guilty of error or heresy in this, or any other point of Christianity, were it not more Christian for your rector, in a Gospel spirit, to endeavour our conviction and conversion by Holy Scripture, on a true state of matter of fact, than to endeavour our destruction, or to have us stoned to death, or our brains

knocked out? we being really unwilling to be tenacious in any error, if convicted thereof. May we not say: "From all such cruel, hard hearted, and unmerciful men, good Lord deliver us?"

Rector, p. 7. ibid. "This very thing was prophesied of, even in Gospel times, that in those very days false prophets should be cut off, *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3. And St. Peter makes false prophets and false teachers to be equivalent, 2 *Pet.* ii. 1, &c."

Whereupon I enquire of the Convocation:

Q. 1. Does your judgment agree with your rector's concerning that prophecy, *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3; that is, that the same was intended for Gospel times, or that under the New Testament or Gospel administration, false prophets and false teachers should be cut off by the magistrate's sword, or stoned to death?

Note, of false prophets, mentioned *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3, who were to be cut off, *ver.* 3, it is said: "And when any shall yet prophesy, his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, thou shalt not live, for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord; and his father and his mother shall thrust him through when he prophesieth."

2. Must his father and mother then be his executioners in the Gospel times, literally taken, as your rector seems to carry the text, *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3, to have such as he deems false prophets and hereticks, &c. cut off and put to death? And if by their fathers and mothers, what bloody, unnatural, and inhuman work would this make among professed Christians, for parents to kill their own children!

3. And where do you find any texts in the New Testament, enforcing the killing or stoning to death either false prophets, blasphemers, or heretics? but admonition, rejection, or leaving them to the judgment of God, if obstinate and impenitent; and giving open warning to others against such, and their pernicious doctrines, practices, and destruction, as the holy apostles did, 2 *Pet.* ii. and *Jude*'s epistle, &c.

Seeing your said rector, Edward Cockson, appears so zealous for the law of Moses and that of the king of Persia, *Ezra* vii. 26, to be executed upon such as he judges heretics, blasphemers, false prophets, false teachers, and idolaters, &c.

I would ask him or any of you his brethren these questions:

Q. 1. If you do not deem the papists heretics, idolaters, and blasphemers, in their doctrine and belief of transubstantiation, their eucharist, their sacrament of the altar, and adoration given thereunto, as to Christ Jesus his body and blood?

2. Would you have them cut off or stoned to death, who are of that persuasion and religion or profession with the Church of Rome, or only the Quakers?

3. Would it be either Christian or safe for any, esteemed protestant ministers, to follow papists' examples, so as to excite the supreme magistrate or civil government, to cut off or put to death those whom they think or judge heretics, blasphemers, idolaters, &c.

4. Does not the Church of Rome judge all, both you and us, who dissent from that Church, to be heretics? And what is the consequence aimed at thereby, but to cut off all such dissenters, if such a persecuting power should be permitted to prevail? So that according to this rector's notion, may not protestants cut off all papists, and papists cut off all protestants; and so all professors of Christianity become extinct?

5. Are not persecutors apt to misapply those laws intended against notorious offenders, to condemn, punish, and destroy the innocent and the righteous; as did the Jews who stoned the prophets? 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 21. *Matt.* xxi. 35. xxiii. 37. *Luke* xiii. 34. And they took up stones to stone Christ, falsely charging Him with blasphemy, *John* x. 31–33. xi. 8. And they stoned Stephen, *Acts* vii. 58, 59. And they stoned Paul for preaching the Gospel of Christ Jesus, *Acts* xiv. 19.

6. Can you reasonably suppose it will be for the honour of your Church, to allow of any of your breth-

ren, rectors, ministers, or members, to endeavour to incense the government to severe persecution, as this your rector Edward Cockson has done?

Although I have endeavoured to be brief in this enquiry, yet I am concerned, on retrospection, to add something further.

Whereas the said rector would have the supreme magistrate not only the custos utriusque tabulæ, which is a high undertaking; and would have the care committed to him of punishing not only murderers, adulterers, and thieves, &c. but also all idolaters, blasphemers, and false prophets, so as not to tolerate any of them, but to root them out of his dominions, p. 6: here he has cut out heavy work for the supreme magistrate and governors. But who must be judge, and upon whose evidence. If the priest and levite, or invidious persecuting rector, we may expect no compassion, no mercy nor justice from him or them, who prejudged and condemned us and our case without proof, or any just or clear evidence of matter of fact. As this our arbitrary judge and dictator has passed his judgment, and black characters of idolaters, blasphemers, and false prophets, even unto banishment and death, &c. aforehand; without any judicial trial or Gospel administration or law thereof, for the punishments assigned by him; to make the civil magistrate rather a breaker of the two tables, than custos utriusque tabulæ. For this adversary's invectives do not tend to excite the civil magistrate either to justice or to that love which is the fulfilling and end of the law or decalogue, but to extreme severity and persecution against his neighbours; which is far from loving his neighbour as himself. It would become him and his brethren to be better examples and preachers, in spirit, conversation, and doctrine, than any of them to be incendiaries to the persecution and ruin of their quiet neighbours.

And whereas our persecuting adversary would have the same severities inflicted upon those he deems here-

tics, &c. under the Gospel administration, as were commanded to be inflicted under the legal upon blasphemers, &c.; let us a little farther examine his proofs.

If *Rom.* xiii. 4. be insisted upon, and it be thence inferred that the magistrate should execute wrath upon false teachers, &c. because he bears not the sword in vain; surely the holy apostle did not intend that the magistrate, in the Gospel day, should kill or cut off false teachers, or cause them to be stoned to death who are mistaken in some doctrine or prophecy; but rather that they should be better persuaded, convinced, and converted by sound doctrine.

And in his exhorting to be subject to the higher powers, *Rom.* xiii. 1. he could not mean, that the Christian believers in Christ, then in Rome or elsewhere, should subject their faith, religion, conscience, and worship, to the wills of heathen emperors at Rome, or to the kings or rulers of the earth who were of different religions; for then there would have been no persecutions, no martyrs of Jesus Christ under the Roman emperors or others, as there were: if their subjection had been such, they must only have been of the ruler's religion, whether idolater, papist, mahometan, &c. It is no Christian argument therefore, to strain the text *Rom.* xiii. to such an uncertain, unchristian, and I may say, irreligious subjection; and not that of true Christians and martyrs of Jesus, who rather submitted to deep sufferings than violate their conscience or Christian religion.

1. The punishment mentioned *Heb.* x. 28, 29, of such adversaries, rebellious and hardened apostates and contemners of Christ and the blood of his covenant, appears not to be intended of such like temporal punishment or death by the magistrate, as that was to him that despised Moses's law under that dispensation; but rather divine vengeance or fiery indignation from God, to devour such adversaries and wilful contemners of the Truth. See *Heb.* x.

Certainly if any persons do so backslide, and become

such wilful sinners and adversaries against Christ and his Gospel Dispensation, after they have received the knowledge of the Truth, they do not only lose and forfeit the blessed effects and benefits of Christ's sacrifice, blood, and atonement, but do incur much heavier and sorer punishment from the hand of God, as Judge, than that of a temporal death to the despisers of Moses's law.

Our God is and will be a consuming fire to his adversaries and enemies, who continue in rebellion against Him, his Light, Truth, and Spirit of Grace, doing despite thereunto: and it is and will be a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God; when there remains no more a sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation to devour the adversaries.

2. But now as we profess Christianity and the dispensation of Christ and of the New Covenant of mercy and grace, &c. let us consider what punishments did ever Christ or his Gospel ministers assign, or excite the civil magistrates unto, against persons in error or heresy? Did they tell them they must banish them or hang them, or burn them, or stone them to death? I think not. I find no such precept in the New Testament.

The sadducees who believed no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, *Matt.* xxii. 23. *Mark* xii. 18. *Luke* xx. 27. *Acts* xxiii. 8; did Christ deliver them into the hands of the magistrates, to punish them or stone them to death, according to the law of Moses? No, surely! He rather told them: "Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God;" and taught them better, to convince them of their error and to persuade them out of it.

And the man that was an heretic, what punishment did the holy apostle assign or direct against him? but after admonition once or twice to reject him?

And to have "no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness; but rather to reprove them."

And as we freely acknowledge magistracy or the civil government to be God's ordinance, appointed for

the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well; so they that undertake that office and trust upon them, had need to be careful that they do not condemn the innocent and acquit the guilty; and that they be tender of men's lives, liberties, and properties, especially where no overt act, demeriting such penalties, can be proved. And also that they be careful not to condemn persons upon reports and defamations of invidious or mercenary informers; as Saul, upon the report of Doeg the Edomite, caused fourscore and five of the Lord's priests then to be slain, even by the mischievous Edomite, when Saul's own servants or footmen would not do it, 1 *Sam.* xxii. 18.

"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain," 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 3, 4. So that the just ruler in the fear of God, must have a clear understanding and judgment in the fear of God and his Light, therein to shine in justice, righteousness, mercy, and truth; which will be to the great comfort and refreshment of the righteous and tender in heart, who truly fear God.

It is mercy and truth whereby the king's throne is established; without which, thrones are tottering, shaken, and soon overturned. And therefore all men in power and authority should diligently mind God's power and wisdom, whereby they may stand and rule in righteousness. For saith that Wisdom: "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice: by me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth," *Prov.* viii. 15, 16.

It is not because they are made kings or princes, that that they reign and rule, and decree justice and are established; but because they are under Wisdom's conduct who are just men and rulers fearing God, before whom they must appear, and be accountable to Him as their Judge, who is the righteous Judge of all.

To conclude, if any should suppose that I have reflected too hardly upon our adversary the rector, which may affect others of his function, I may sincerely tell them:

1. I never met with any persecuting adversary, that has written more invidiously to incense the government to extreme persecution against us, &c. than he has done; as appears to me and many others.

2. I have not at all designed to cast his offence upon any others of his function or priesthood, who are not guilty of the same or like offence, nor countenancers or approvers thereof; as I believe many of them are not, but of a better principle, nature, and temper, than to endeavour to raise persecution, to ruin their honest, peaceable neighbours for religion and conscience: as the difference is apparent, by the severe persecutions our Friends meet withal from some of the clergy, and the moderation of others.

I pray God in mercy humble and subject all to his wisdom and conduct, by his divine power.

G. W.

THE

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

AND

SOCIETY

OF THE

People called Quakers,

CLEARED FROM

THE REPROACH OF THE LATE DIVISION OF A FEW IN SOME PART OF AMERICA;

As not being justly chargeable upon the Body of the said People, there or elsewhere.

Printed in the Year 1693.

Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them diligently which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them, *Rom.* xvi. 17.

Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you, *Ephes.* iv. 31, 32.

THE

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, &c.

WHEREAS divers accounts have been lately published in print, of some late division and disputes between some persons under the name of Quakers, in Pennsylvania, about several fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, (as it is pretended by one party,) which being particularly mentioned, and thereupon occasion very unduly taken by our adversaries, to reproach both the Christian ministry and the whole body of the people commonly called Quakers, and their holy and Christian profession, both in England and elsewhere, though no way concerned in the said divisions or matters charged; but rather grieved and troubled at it, and at the indiscreet and reproachful management thereof in print, to the amusing and troubling the world therewith, and giving occasion to the loose, ignorant, and profane, to slight and contemn the Truth, and the interest of the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ;

We are therefore tenderly concerned for Truth's sake in behalf of the said people, (as to the body of them, and for all of them who are sincere to God, and faithful to their Christian principle and profession,) to use our just endeavours to remove the reproach, and all causeless jealousies concerning us, touching those doctrines of Christianity, or any of them pretended or supposed, to be in question in the said division; in relation whereunto we do, in the fear of God, and in simplicity and plainness of his Truth received, solemnly and sincerely declare, what our Christian belief and

profession has been, and still is, in respect to Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God; his suffering, death, resurrection, glory, light, power, great day of judgment, &c.

We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our Light and Life, our only way to the Father, and also our only Mediator and Advocate with the Father.*

That God created all things; He made the worlds by his Son Jesus Christ, He being that powerful and Living Word of God by whom all things were made;† and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one in divine being inseperable; one true, living, and eternal God blessed for ever.‡

Yet that this Word or Son of God, in the fulness of time took flesh, became perfect man—according to the flesh descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David,‖ but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.§ And also further declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead.¶

That in the Word or Son of God, was life: and the same life was the Light of men; and that He was that true Light which enlightens every man coming into the world.** And therefore that men are to believe in the Light, that they may become children of the Light.†† Hereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, as He is the Light and Life within us; and wherein we must needs have sincere respect and honour to and belief in Christ, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehensible glory and fulness,‡‡ as He is the Fountain of Life and Light, and giver thereof unto us; Christ, as in himself and as in us, being not divided. And that, as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again,

* Heb. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 21. John xiv 6. 1 Tim. ii. v. † Ephes. iii. 9. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 2. ‡ 1 John v. 7. ‖ Rom. i. 3, 4. § Mat. i. 23. ¶ Rom. i. 3, 4. ** John i. 4. 9. †† John xii. 36. Isa. ii. 5. ‡‡ 1 Tim. vi. 16.

and was received up into glory in the heavens:* He having, in his dying for all, been that one great universal offering and sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man.† And He is the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world.‡ We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life.

That Jesus Christ who sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, is yet our King, High Priest, and Prophet ;‖ in his church a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched and not man.§ He is Intercessor and Advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the presence of God for us ;¶ being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sufferings, and sorrows; and also by his Spirit in our hearts He maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying, Abba, Father.**

For any whom God hath gifted†† and called sincerely to preach faith in the same Christ, both as within and without us, cannot be to preach two Christs, but one and the same Lord Jesus Christ ;‡‡ having respect to those degrees of our spiritual knowledge of Christ Jesus in us,‖‖ and to his own unspeakable fulness and glory§§, as in Himself, in his own entire being ; wherein Christ Himself and the least measure of his light or life as in us or in mankind, are not divided nor separable, any more than the sun is from its light. And as He ascended far above all heavens, that He might fill all things,¶¶ his fulness cannot be comprehended or con-

* 1 Pet. iii. 18. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. xix. 28, and xxv. 31. Luke ix. 26, and xxiv. 26. † Rom. v. 10, 11. Heb. ii. 17, 18. Ephes. ii. 16, 17. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. ‡ 1 John ii. 2. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Heb. ii. 9. ‖ Zech. ix. 9. Luke xix. 38. John xii. 15. Heb. iii. 1. 6. Deut. xviii. 15. 18. Acts iii. 22. and vii. 37. § Heb. viii. 1, 2. ¶ Heb. vii. 25. Heb. ix. 24. ** Rom. viii. 26, 27, 34. Gal. iv 6. †† Ephes. iii. 7. 1 Peter iv. 10. ‡‡ 1 Cor. viii. 6. xv. iii. 8. ‖‖ John xv. 26, and xvi. 13, 14, 15. §§ John i. 16. ¶¶ Ephes. iv. 10.

tained in any finite creature,* but is in measure known and experienced in us, as we are capable to receive the same; as of his fulness we have received grace for grace. Christ our Mediator received the Spirit, not by measure† but in fulness; but to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of his gift.‡

That the Gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,‖ being one§ in power, wisdom, and goodness, and indivisible, or not to be divided in the great work of man's salvation.

We sincerely confess and believe in Jesus Christ, both as He is true God and perfect man,¶ and that He is the Author of our living faith in the power and goodness of God, as manifest in his Son Jesus Christ, and by his own blessed Spirit or Divine Unction revealed in us,** whereby we inwardly feel and taste of his goodness,†† life and virtue; so as our souls live and prosper by and in Him, and in the inward sense of this Divine Power of Christ, and faith in the same; and this inward experience is absolutely necessary to make a true, sincere, and perfect Christian in spirit and life.

That Divine honour and worship is due to the Son of God;‡‡ and that He is in true faith to be prayed unto, and the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon, as the primitive Christians did,‖‖, because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son;§§ and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers or praises to God, nor receive a gracious answer or blessing from God, but in and through his dear Son Christ.

That Christ's body which was crucified, was not the Godhead, yet by the power of God was raised from the dead; and that the same Christ who was therein crucified, ascended into heaven and glory¶¶ is not ques-

* Col. i. 19. and ii. 9. † John iii. 34. ‡ Ephes. iv. 7. ‖ Mat. xxviii. 19. § John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. ¶ John i. 1, 2. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. ** 1 John ii. 20. 27. and i. 1. †† 1 Peter ii. 3. John vi. 33. 35. 51. 57, 58. ‡‡ John v. 23. Heb. i. 6. ‖‖ 1 Cor. i. 2. Acts vii. 59. §§ John x. 30. 1 John v. 7. ¶¶ Luke xxiv. 26.

tioned by us. His flesh saw no corruption ;* it did not corrupt ; but yet doubtless his body was changed into a more glorious† and heavenly condition than it was when subject to divers sufferings on earth ; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raised from the dead, so as to become such a glorious body as it is declared to be, is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend, or pry into ; and more meet for angels to see. The Scripture is silent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to enquire or dispute it ; nor do we esteem it necessary to make ourselves wise above‡ what is written, as to the manner or condition of Christ's glorious body as in heaven, any more than to enquire how Christ appeared in divers manners or forms,‖ or how He came in among his disciples, the door being shut ;§ or how He vanished out of their sight, after He was risen. However, we have cause to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a most glorious condition, far transcending what it was in on earth ; otherwise how should our low body be changed, so as to be made like unto his glorious body ;¶ for when He was on earth, and attended with sufferings, He was said to be like unto us in all things, sin only excepted :** which may not be said of Him as now in a state of glory, as He prayed for ;†† otherwise where would be the change both in Him and us ?

True and living faith in Christ Jesus the Son of the Living God,‡‡ has respect to his entire being and fulness ; to Him entirely, as in Himself, and as all power in heaven and earth is given unto him ;|||| and also an eye and respect to the same Son of God,§§ as inwardly making Himself known in the soul in every degree of his Light, Life, Spirit, Grace, and Truth ; and as He

* Psalm xvi. 10. Acts ii. 31, and xiii. 35. 37. † Phil. iii. 21. ‡ 1 Cor. iv. 4. 6. ‖ Mark xvi. 12. John xx. 15. § John xx. 19. Luke xxiv. 36, 37, and xxiv. 31. ¶ Phil. iii. 21. ** Heb. ii. 17, and iv. 15. †† John xvii. 5. ‡‡ John xiv. 1. |||| Mat. xxviii. 18. xi. 27. John xvii. 2. Heb. i. 4. ii. 8. §§ John xiv. 23. xvii. 21, 22, 23, 24. 26.

is both the Word of Faith and a Quickening Spirit in us,* whereby He is the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith in his Name and Power, and of the work of our salvation from sin and bondage of corruption. And the Son of God cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance of his own Divine Light or Life in us or in mankind, no more than the sun from its own light; nor is the sufficiency of his Light within, by us set up in opposition to Him the Man Christ, or his fulness considered as in Himself, or without us; nor can any measure or degree of light received from Christ, as such, be properly called the fulness of Christ, or Christ as in fulness, nor exclude Him, so considered, from being our complete Saviour: for Christ himself to be our Light, our Life and Saviour,† is so consistent, that without his Light we could not know life, nor Him to save us from sin or deliver us from darkness, condemnation or wrath to come.

And where the least degree or measure of this Light and Life of Christ within, is sincerely waited for, followed, and obeyed, there is a blessed increase of light and grace known and felt: as the path of the just, it shines more and more until the perfect day;‡ and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, hath been and is truly experienced. And this Light, Life, or Spirit of Christ within, for they are one Divine Principle, is sufficient to lead into all truth, having in it the divers ministrations both of judgment and mercy, both of law and gospel; even that gospel which is preached in every intelligent creature under heaven. It does not only, as in its first ministration, manifest sin, and reprove and condemn for sin; but also excites and leads them that believe in it to true repentance, and thereupon to receive that mercy, pardon, and redemption in Christ Jesus, which He has obtained for mankind, on

* 1 Cor. xv. 45. Rom. x. 7, 8. † John i. 4. 9. iii. 19, 20. x. ii. 35, 36. 46. viii. 12. ‡ Prov. iv. 18. Ps. xxxvi. 9.

those gospel terms of faith in his Name, true repentance, and conversion to Christ, thereby required.

So that the Light and Life of the Son of God within, truly obeyed and followed, as being the principle of the second or new covenant, as Christ the Light is confessed to be, even as He is the Seed or Word of Faith in all men; this does not leave men or women who believe in the Light, under the first covenant, nor as sons of the bond-woman, as the literal Jews were when gone from the Spirit of God and his Christ in them; but it naturally leads them into the new covenant, into the new and living way, and to the adoption of sons, to be children and sons of the free-woman, of Jerusalem from above.

It is true that we ought not to lay aside, nor should any undervalue, but highly esteem true preaching and the Holy Scriptures, and the sincere belief and faith of Christ as He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, together with Christ's inward and spiritual appearance and work of grace in the soul, livingly to open the mystery of his death, and perfectly to effect our reconciliation, sanctification, and justification; and wherever Christ qualifies and calls any to preach and demonstrate the mystery of his coming, death, and resurrection, &c. even among the gentiles, Christ ought accordingly to be both preached, and believed and received.

Yet supposing that there have been, or are such pious and conscientious gentiles, in whom Christ was and is as the Seed or Principle of the second or new covenant, the Light, the Word of Faith, as is granted, and that such live uprightly and faithfully to that Light they have, or to what is made known of God in them, and who, therefore, in that state, cannot perish, but shall be saved, as is also confessed; and supposing these have not the outward advantage of preaching, Scripture, or thence the knowledge of Christ's outward coming, and being outwardly crucified and risen from the dead, can such, thus considered, be justly excluded

Christianity, or the covenant of grace, as to the virtue, life, and nature thereof, or truly deemed no Christians, or void of any Christian faith in the life and power of the Son of God within, or be only sons of the first covenant and bondwoman, like the literal outside Jews? Or must all be excluded any true knowledge or faith of Christ within them, unless they have the knowledge of Christ as without them? No sure! for that would imply insufficiency in Christ and his Light as within them, and frustrate God's good end and promise of Christ, and his free and universal love and grace to mankind in sending his Son. We charitably believe the contrary, that they must have some true faith and interest in Christ and his mediation, because of God's free love in Christ to all mankind, and Christ's dying for all men*, and being given for a Light of the gentiles, and for salvation to the ends of the earth.† And because of their living up sincerely and faithfully to his Light in them, their being pious, conscientious, accepted, and saved, as is granted, we cannot reasonably think a sincere, pious, or godly man, wholly void of Christianity, of what nation soever he may be; because none can come to God or godliness but by Christ,‡ by his Light and Grace in them; yet grant if there be such pious and sincere men or women as have not the Scripture, or knowledge of Christ as outwardly crucified, &c. they are not perfect Christians in all perfections, as in all knowledge, and understanding all points of doctrine, and outward profession of Christ; so that they are better than they profess or pretend to be; they are more Jews inward and Christians inward than in outward show or profession.

There are Christians sincere and perfect in kind or nature, in life and substance, though not in knowledge and understanding. A man or woman having the life and fruits of true Christianity, the fruits of the Spirit of

* 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. † Isaiah xlix. 6. Luke ii. 32. Acts xiii 47. ‡ John xiv. 6.

Christ in them, who can talk little thereof, or of creeds, points or articles of faith, yea, many that cannot read letters, yet may be true Christians in spirit and life; and some could die for Christ that could not dispute for Him. And even infants that die in innocency, are not excluded the grace of God, or salvation in and by Christ Jesus; the image and nature of the Son of God being in some measure in them, and they under God's care and special providence. See *Matthew*, xviii. 2. 10.

And though we had the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and a belief of Christ crucified and risen, &c. we never truly knew the mystery thereof until we were turned to the Light of his Grace and Spirit within us; we knew not what it was to be reconciled by his death, and saved by his life, or what it was to know the fellowship of his sufferings, the power of his resurrection, or to be made conformable unto his death—we knew not, until He opened our eyes and turned our minds from darkness unto his own Divine Light and Life within us.

Notwithstanding, we do so sincerely and greatly esteem and value the Holy Scriptures, preaching, and teaching of faithful, divinely inspired, gifted, and qualified persons and ministers of Jesus Christ, as being great outward helps, and instrumental in his hand, and by his Spirit for conversion; where God is pleased to afford those outward helps and means; as that we neither do nor may oppose the sufficiency of the Light or Spirit of Christ within to such outward helps or means, so as to reject, disesteem, or undervalue them; for they all proceed from the same Light and Spirit, and tend to turn men's minds thereunto, and all centre therein.

Nor can the Holy Scriptures or true preaching without, be justly set in opposition to the Light or Spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof, being sent to turn people to the same Light and Spirit in them.*

* Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

It is certain that great is the mystery of godliness in itself, in its own being and excellency, namely, that God should be and was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

And it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity also, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually in men's hearts, to save and deliver them from sin, satan, and bondage of corruption; Christ being thus revealed in true believers, and dwelling in their hearts by faith: Christ within the hope of glory, our light and life, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, 1 *Cor.* i. 30. And therefore this mystery of godliness, both as in its own being and glory, and also as in men, in many hid and in some revealed, hath been and must be testified, preached, and believed, where God is pleased to give commission and prepare people's hearts for the same, and not in man's will.

Concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave or after death, and Christ's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead, as divers questions are put in such terms; what the Holy Scriptures plainly declare and testify in these matters, we have great reason to credit and not to question, and have been always ready to embrace with respect to Christ and his apostles' own testimony and prophecies.

1. *For the doctrine of the Resurrection.*

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable, 1 *Cor.* xv. 19. We sincerely believe not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with Him hereafter; that when He at last appears we may appear with him in glory, *Col.* iii. 4. 1 *John* iii. 2. But that all the wicked, who live in rebellion against the Light of Grace, and die finally impenitent, shall come forth to the resurrection of condemnation.

And that the soul or spirit of every man and woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being, so as there shall be as many souls in the world to come as in this; and every seed, yea every soul, shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it, 1 *Cor.* xv. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; that being first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. And though it is said this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality; the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption, 1 *Cor.* xv. We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality; and the children of God and of the resurrection, shall be equal to the angels of God in heaven.*

And as the celestial bodies do far excel terrestrial; so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection shall far excel what our bodies now are; and we hope none can justly blame us for thus expecting better bodies than now they are. Howbeit we esteem it very unnecessary to dispute or question how the dead are raised, or with what body they come; but rather submit that to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God.

2. *For the doctrine of Eternal Judgment.*

God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ; and He is Judge both of quick and dead, and of the states and ends of all mankind, *John* v. 22. 27. *Acts* x. 42. 2 *Tim.* iv. 1. 1 *Pet.* iv. 5.

That there shall be hereafter a great harvest, which is the end of the world, a great day of judgment, and the judgment of that great day, the Holy Scripture is clear.† When the Son of Man cometh in his glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of his glory, and before Him shall be gathered all nations, &c. *Mat.* xxv. 31, 32. to the end, compared with *chap.* xxii. 31. *Mark* viii. 38. *Luke* ix. 26.

* Matthew xxii. 30. Mark xii. 25. Luke xx. 36.

† Mat. xiii. 39, 40, 41. x. 15. xi. 24. Jude 6.

and 1 *Cor.* xv. 52. 2 *Thes.* i. 7, 8. to the end, and 1 *Thes.* iv. 16. *Rev.* xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

That this blessed Heavenly Man, this Son of Man, who hath so deeply suffered, and endured so many great indignities and persecutions from his adversaries, both to Himself and his members and brethren, will at last, even in the last and great day, signally and manifestly appear in glory and triumph, attended with all his glorious heavenly host and retinue, before all nations, before all his enemies and those that have denied Him. This will be to their great terror and amazement: that this most glorious Heavenly Man and his brethren, that have been so much contemned and set at nought, should be thus exalted over their enemies and persecutors, in glory and triumph, is a righteous thing with God; and that they that suffer with Him, should appear with Him in glory and dignity when He thus appears at last. Christ was Judge of the world and the prince thereof, when on earth, *John* ix. 39. xii. 31; He is still Judge of the world, the wickedness and prince thereof, by his Light, Spirit, and Gospel in men's hearts and consciences, *John* xvi. 8. 11. *Mat.* xii. 18. 20. *Isa.* xlii. 1. *Rom.* ii. 16. 1 *Pet.* iv. 6; And He will be the judge and final determiner thereof in that great day appointed; God having appointed a day wherein He will Judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom He hath ordained. Christ foretold, it shall be more tolerable for them of the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city or people that would not receive his messengers or ministers, &c. *Mat.* x. 15. xi. 24. *Mark* vi. 11. *Luke* x. 12. 14. It is certain that God knows how to deliver the godly out of all their trials and afflictions, and at last to bring them forth and raise them up into glory with Christ; so He knoweth also how to reserve the unjust and finally impenitent unto the day of Judgment, to be punished, 2 *Pet.* ii. 9. He will bring them forth unto the day of destruction, *Job* xxi. 30. The Lord can and will reserve such impenitent, presumptuous, and rebel-

lious criminals, as bound under chains of darkness, as were the fallen angels, unto the judgment of the great day, *Jude* 6. *Mat.* xxv. 30. It is not for us to determine or dispute the manner how they shall be so reserved; but leave it to God; He knows how.

Touching the opinion of the revolution or transmigration of human souls, or their passing out of one body into another, &c. as it is deemed originally to have sprung from the heathen, and was received among Jews and some others by tradition, and said to be the opin- of Empedocles, Pythagoras, and the Egyptians, and partly of Julian the apostate when he dreamed that the soul of Alexander the Great was crept into his carcass, or rather that he was Alexander himself in another body; and thereupon rejecting the suit of the Persians for peace, presumptously proceeded in the war and to bloodshed against them, until, at unawares, he got his death's wound, according as is more fully related in history; particularly Socrates's Scholasticus, *lib.* 1. *ch.* 17. and *lib.* iii. *ch.* 18. *Eccles. Chron. fol.* 577. See also Dr. Hammond's Annotations on John ix. 1, 2, 3. We are not concerned in any such notion, but, as a people are wholly clear of it.

We deem it neither necessary to faith, nor safe to receive or defend, as either held by those heathen Egyptians, or Jews aforesaid; nor as it is insinuated in a late pamphlet of 200 Queries, concerning the doctrine of the Revolution of Human Souls, supposing twelve revolutions or twelve distinct intervals of life to every man, as being twelve several times born into the world; for each one to live or consummate the space of 1000 years on earth. Though this opinion of such revolution appears not to be a point in present controversy in the book aforesaid, or in Pennsylvania, nor maintained as any Divine opening, revelation, or necessary article of faith, but rather evaded from being publicly controverted; yet inasmuch as there appears some ground of suspicion in the case, and as it seems to be favoured impli-

citly by some; therefore that we as a people may not be suspected about it, we sincerely declare our clearness from the said opinion, as really esteeming it not safe to propagate or maintain or trouble peoples' heads or minds with it; but that all should improve their present time and mercies. And we are the less concerned about the aforesaid queries and doctrine, because we find not any known person or persons of credible authority, that will adventure to assert that opinion, either as divinely revealed or opened, or as necessary to be believed or received as an article of faith, or that will undertake to demonstrate how many times or intervals of life they themselves have lived on earth, and what transactions or remarkable passages, or things good and bad, they have done or passed through in those their supposed past intervals of life.

CONCLUSION.

To conclude: As we are persuaded want of walking in the true Light, and want of Christian charity, is the great cause of divisions in professed Christian societies of all sorts, and of this difference among a few persons in America, professing the same Light and Truth with us: we are ashamed of and surprized at the bitter language and severe consequences and treatment, in some of the printed books from one party, and the exposing of the weaknesses and unwarrantable expressions of some of the other, to the open enemies of both, and of religion itself; all which, as also to make any public rent in a religious society on personal offences or private occasions, are greatly unbecoming our Christian profession, charity, or Society.

And we pray God rebuke and stop this troublesome spirit of enmity and division wherever it is; for it makes great disturbance and trouble in the creation, and where it enters in church or state; yet its ill work is no new thing. It was the same spirit that infested and troubled the primitive Christian churches, causing divisions and offences contrary to the Gospel of peace, at first received, and whereby parties and schisms were made; and one said I am of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas; which carnality the apostle reproved, as knowing and testifying that Christ, whom they all professed, is not divided. And if Christian tenderness and charity might influence all parties, we see no real cause for these few persons aforesaid to divide or separate outwardly, especially about doctrine, seeing both profess one Light, one Spirit, one God, and

one Lord Jesus Christ, and faith in Him, and sincerely to believe the Holy Scriptures. And even the person charging the other in print, professes to "own the body of the people called Quakers, and seems to approve of our ancient, faithful, and generally approved Friends, writers or publishers of our doctrines and principles, and preachers among us generally owned and approved by us, as men of sound judgment and understanding, and as owning the fundamental articles of the Christian and Protestant faith." Thus far the person charging, in his "Serious Appeal," *page* 6. As also the same person further openly signified at the other Friends' meeting, that "he and his Friends had unity with the most there as to the main. As also with all faithful Friends every where, excepting only some in their meeting that were unsound," &c.—"*Reason and Causes*," *page* 26. And therefore, if most on both sides have unity as to the main, we may charitably suppose they do not differ in the main or substance of Christian faith or doctrine before cited, and sincerely owned and confessed by us; if tenderly and duly considered by both sides, as men seeking peace, love, and concord. Wherefore the difference was very indiscreetly managed, aggravated, and exposed to separation, printing, and reproach, seeing it was not in the main.

We wholly dislike such rending and tearing, such dividing and aggravating proceedings, and bitter treatment, and have no unity therewith; but desire the Lord in mercy to repair the breaches, and heal the backslidings among them, and amongst all that are esteemed Christian professors and societies, and incline all to the main, to the True Light, to the substance and life of Christianity, to true love, fervent charity, and tender-heartedness, and forgiveness towards one another, and to follow peace with all men, and holiness; without which no man shall see the Lord.

A POSTSCRIPT,

RELATING TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION AND ETERNAL JUDGMENT.

At the last trump of God, and voice of the archangel, the dead shall be raised incorruptible; the dead in Christ shall rise first, 1 *Cor.* xv. 52. 1 *Thes.* iv. 16, compared with *Mat.* xxiv. 31.

Many are often alarmed in conscience here by the Word and Voice of God, who stop their ears and slight those warnings; but the great and final alarm of the last trumpet, they cannot stop their ears against nor escape: it will unavoidably seize upon, and further awaken them finally to judgment. They that will not be alarmed in their consciences unto repentance, nor out of their sins here, must certainly be alarmed to judgment hereafter.

Whosoever do now wilfully shut their eyes, hate, contemn or shun the Light of Christ, or his appearance within, shall at last be made to see, and not be able to shun or hide themselves from his glorious and dreadful appearance from Heaven with his mighty angels, as with lightning and in flaming fire, to render vengeance on all them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 *Thes.* i. 8. *Mat.* xxiv. 27. *Luke* xvii. 24. *Dan.* vii. 9, 10. *Job* xxxvii. 3.

And though many now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the Light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences, they shall all be at last opened, and every one judged of

these things recorded therein, according to their works, *Rev.* xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

Signed in behalf of our Christian Profession and People aforesaid;

George Whitehead,
Ambrose Rigg,
William Fallowfield,
James Parke,
Charles Marshall,
John Bowater,
John Vaughton,
William Bingley.

FINIS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

DEC 6 1951
DEC 26 1951
JAN 12 1952
NOV 14 1991
ILL EUI
EIS, G.
11-8-91
REC'D LD-URL
DEC 04 1991
REC'D LD URL
NOV 4 1991

Form L9–2m-6,'49 (B4568) 444

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

University of California, Los Angeles
L 005 415 681 5

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 000 702 031 6